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Parker. The great battle between  
slavery and freedom. 1856

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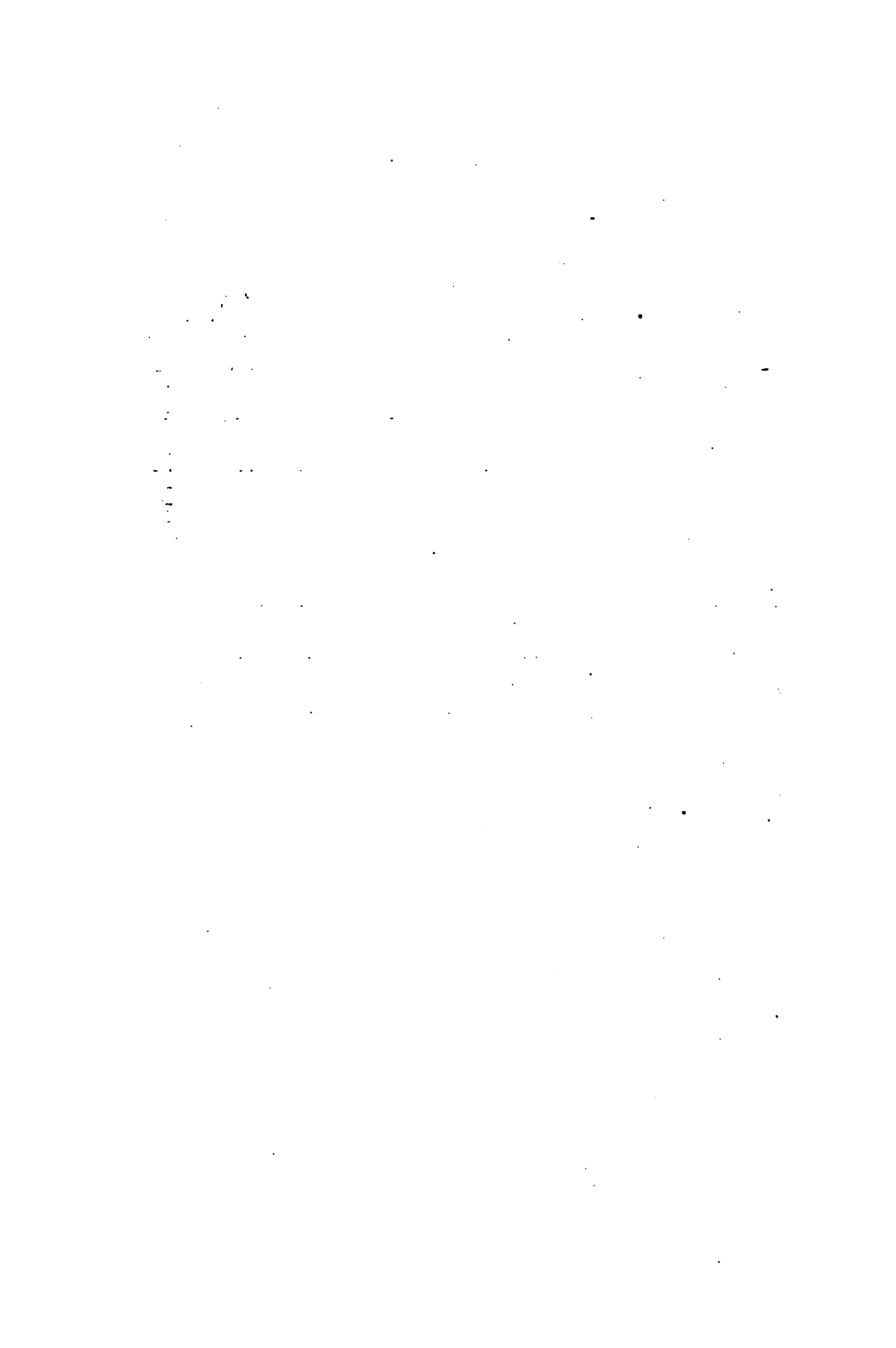
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1. See Opposite.
2. Parker, Theodore. The Present Aspect of Slavery in America, etc. Boston. 18
3. \_\_\_\_\_ The Relation of Slavery to a Republican Form of Government. A Speech, etc. Boston. 183

*Parker, Theodore.*

*1856.*

THE

GREAT BATTLE

BETWEEN

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM,

*Considered in Two Speeches*

DELIVERED BEFORE THE AMERICAN ANTISLAVERY SOCIETY, AT NEW YORK.

MAY 7, 1856.

BY THEODORE PARKER,

MINISTER OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

Phonographically Reported.

BOSTON:

BENJAMIN H. GREENE,

124, WASHINGTON STREET.

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BOSTON:  
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22, SCHOOL STREET.

The Present Aspect  
OF  
THE ANTISLAVERY ENTERPRISE,  
AND OF  
THE VARIOUS FORCES WHICH WORK THEREIN:

A Speech

DELIVERED ON THE MORNING OF MAY 7.

The President, Mr. GARRISON, thus introduced Mr. PARKER to the audience:—

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The fanaticism and infidelity and treason which are hateful to the traffickers in slaves and the souls of men must be well pleasing to God, and are indications of true loyalty to the cause of liberty. I have the pleasure of introducing to you a very excellent fanatic, a very good infidel, and a first-rate traitor, in the person of THEODORE PARKER, of Boston.”

## S P E E C H.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — After that Trinitarian introduction, in which I am presented before you as one antislavery Nature in three Persons, — a fanatic, an infidel, and a traitor, — I am sure a Unitarian minister will bring his welcome along with him. And yet I come under great disadvantages: for I follow one whose color is more than the logic which his cause did not need (alluding to Mr. Remond); and another whose sex is more eloquent than the philosophy of noblest men (referring to Mrs. Blackwell), whose word has in it the wild witchery which takes captive your heart. I am neither an African nor a Woman. I shall speak, therefore, somewhat in the way of logic, which the one rejected; something also, perhaps, of philosophy, which the other likewise passed by.

Allow me to say, however, still further, by way of introduction, that I should not weary your ears at all this morning, were it not that another man, your friend and mine, Mr. Phillips, lies sick at home. Remember the threefold misfortune of my position: I come after an African, after a Woman, and in the place of Wendell Phillips.

I shall ask your attention to some Thoughts on the present Aspect of the Antislavery Enterprise, and the Forces which work therefor.

In all great movements of mankind, there are three special works to be done, so many periods of work, and the same number of classes of persons therein engaged.

First is the period of Sentiment. The business is to produce the right feeling, — a sense of lack, and a fore-feeling of desire for the special thing required. The aim is to produce a sense of need, and also a feeling of want. That is the first thing.

The next period is that of Ideas, where the work is to furnish the Thought of what is wanted, — a distinct, precise, adequate idea. The sentiment must precede the thought; for the primitive element in all human conduct is a feeling: every thing begins in a spontaneous emotion.

The third is the period of Action, when the business is to make the thought a thing, to organize it into institutions. The idea must precede the action, else man begins to build, and is not able to finish: he runs before he is sent, and knows not where he is going, or the way thither.

Now, these three special works go on in the antislavery movement; there are these three periods observable, and three classes of persons engaged in the various works. The first effort is to excite the antislavery Feeling; the next, to furnish the antislavery Idea; and the third is to make that thought a Thing, — to organize the idea into institutions which shall be as wide as the idea, and fully adequate to express the feeling itself.

I. The primitive thing has been, and still is, to arouse a sense of Humanity in the whites, which should lead us to abolish this wickedness.

Another way would be to arouse a sense of indignation in the person who suffered the wrong, — in the slave, — and to urge him, of himself, to put a stop to bearing the wickedness.

Two things there were which hindered this from being

attempted. First, some of the antislavery leaders were non-resistants; they said it is wrong for the black man to break the arm of the oppressor, and we will only pray God to break it: the slaves must go free without breaking it themselves. That was one reason why the appeal was not made to the slave. The leaders were non-resistants; some of them covered with a Quaker's hat, some of them (pointing to Mr. Garrison, who is bald) not covered by any covering at all.

The other reason was, the slaves themselves were Africans,—men not very good at the sword. If the case had been otherwise,—if it had been three and a half millions of Anglo-Saxons,—the chief antislavery appeal would not have been to the oppressor to leave off oppressing, but to the victim to leave off bearing the oppression. For, while the African is not very good with the sword, the Anglo-Saxon is something of a master with that ugly weapon; at any rate, he knows how to use it. If the Anglo-Saxon had not been a better fighter than the African, slave-ships would fill this side of Sandy Hook and in Boston Bay; they would not take pains to go to the Gulf of Guinea. The only constitution which slave-hunters respect is writ on the parchment of a drum-head. If the three and a half millions of slaves had been white men, with this dreadful Anglo-Saxon blood in their bosoms, do you suppose the affair at Cincinnati would have turned out after that sort? Do you believe Gov. Chase would have said, No slavery outside of the Slave States; but, inside of the Slave States, just as much enslavement of Anglo-Saxon men as you please? Why, his head would not have been on his shoulders twenty-four hours after he had said it. In the State of Ohio, when Margaret Garner was surrendered up, there were four hundred thousand able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five; there were half a million of firelocks in that State; and, if that woman had



been the representative of three and a half millions of white persons held as slaves, every one of those muskets would have started into life, and four hundred thousand men would have come forth, each with a firelock on his shoulder; and then one hundred thousand women would have followed, bringing the rest of the muskets. That would have been the state of things if she had been a white, Caucasian woman, and not a black African. We should not then have asked Quakers to lead in the greatest enterprise in the world: the leaders would have been Soldiers; I mean such men as our fathers, who did not content themselves with asking Great Britain to leave off oppressing them. They asked that first; and when Great Britain said, "Please God, we never will!" what did the Saxon say? "Please God, I will make you!" And he kept his word.

"Gods!" (we should have said,)

"Can a Saxon people long debate

Which of the two to choose, — slavery, or death?

No: let us rise at once, gird on our swords,

. . . Attack the foe, break through the thick array

Of his thronged legions, and charge home upon him!"

That would have been the talk. Meetings would have been "opened with prayer" by men who trusted in God, and likewise kept their powder dry.

But in this case it was otherwise. The work has not been to arouse the Indignation of the Enslaved, but to stir the Humanity of the Oppressor, to touch his conscience, his affection, his religious sentiment; or to show that his political and pecuniary interests required the freedom of all men in America.

And it has been very fortunate for us that this great enterprise fell into the hands of just such men as these, — that it was not soldiers who chiefly engaged in it, but Men of Peace. By and by I will show you why.

The attempt was made at first, and by that gentleman

too (pointing to Mr. Garrison), with others, to arouse the antislavery feeling in the actual Slaveholders at the South. You know what followed. He and every one who tried it there were driven over the border. Then the attempt was made at the North ; and there it has been continued. It is exceedingly important to get a right antislavery feeling at the North: for two-thirds of the population are at the North; three-fourths of the property, four-fifths of the education, are here, and I suppose six-sevenths of the Christianity; and one of these days it may be found out that seven-eighths of the courage are at the North also. I do not say it is so; but it may turn out so. So much for the matter of Sentiment.

II. Now look at the next point. If the sentiment be right, then the mind is to furnish the Idea. But a statement of the idea before the sentiment is fixed helps excite the feeling; and so a great deal has been done to spread abroad the antislavery idea, even amongst persons who had not the antislavery feeling; for, though the heart helps the head, the head likewise pays back the debt by helping the heart. If Mr. Garrison has a clear Idea of freedom, he will go to men who have no very strong Sentiment of freedom, and will awake the soul of liberty underneath those ribs of death. The Womanhood of Lucy Stone Blackwell will do it; the Complexion of Mr. Remond will do it.

In spreading this Idea of Freedom, a good deal has been done, chiefly at the North, but something also at the South. Attempts have been made to diffuse the antislavery idea in this way: Men go before merchants, and say, "Slavery is bad economy; it don't pay: the slave can't raise so much tobacco and cotton as the freeman." That is an argument which Mr. May's "mercantile friend" could have understood; and a political economist might have shown him, that, although there were millions of dollars invested "on account of slavery," there were tens of millions invested

on account of freedom; and that latter investment would pay much larger dividends when it got fairly to its work.

Then, too, the attempt has been made to show that it was bad Policy: bondage would not breed a stalwart, noble set of men; for the slave contaminated the master, and the master's neighbor not the less.

It has been shown, likewise, that slavery injured Education; and while in Massachusetts, out of four hundred native white men, there is but one who cannot read the Bible, in Virginia, out of nine white native adults born of "the first families" (they having none others except "black people"), there is always one who cannot read his own name.

All kinds of schemes, too, have been proposed to end this wickedness of slavery. There has been a most multifarious discussion of the idea; for, after we have the right sentiment, it is difficult to get the intellectual work done, done well, in the best way. It takes a large-minded man, with great experience, to cipher out all this intellectual work, and show how we can get rid of slavery, and what is to take its place, and how the thing is to be done. Accordingly, very various schemes are proposed.

Now, the idea which has been attained to, the antislavery idea reached by the ablest men, is embodied in these two propositions: first, NO SLAVERY ANYWHERE IN AMERICA; second, NO SLAVERY ANYWHERE ON EARTH. That is the topmost idea.

There has been an opposite work going on. First, an attempt "to crush out" the Sentiment of Humanity from all mankind. That was the idea of a *very* distinguished son of Massachusetts. He said "it must be crushed out." Second, to put down the Idea of Freedom. That has been attempted, not only by political officers, but also by a great many other men. It is not to be denied, that throughout the South, in the controlling classes of society, the senti-

ment and idea of freedom are much less widely spread than twenty years ago. The South has grown despotic, while the North becomes more humane.

III. The third thing is to do the Deed. After the sentiment is right, and the idea right, organization must be attended to. But the greatest and most difficult work is to get the heart right and the head right; for, when these are in a proper condition, the hand obeys the two, and accomplishes its work. Still it is a difficult matter to organize freedom. It will require great talent and experience; for, as it takes a master mind to organize thought into matter, and to make a Sharp's rifle or a sewing-machine, so it requires a great deal more mind to organize an idea into political institutions, and establish a State where the antislavery Sentiment shall blossom into an Idea, and the idea grow into a national Fact, a State where Law and Order secure to each man his natural and unalienable Rights.

In the individual Northern States, a good deal has been done in five and twenty years to organize the idea of freedom for white men, a little also for colored men; for the feeling and thought must lead to action. But in the Federal Government the movement has been continually the other way. Two things are plain in the conduct of Congress: (1.) Acts to spread and strengthen African slavery; (2.) Subsidiary acts to oppress the several Northern States which love freedom, and to "crush out" individual men who love freedom. Slavery centralizes power, and destroys local self-government.

Something has been done in the Northern States in respect to awakening the sentiment and communicating the idea; but there has nothing been done as yet in the Federal Congress towards accomplishing the work. I mean to say for the last seventy years Congress has not taken one single step towards abolishing slavery, or making the anti-

slavery idea an American fact. So even now all these three operations must needs go on. Much elementary work still requires to be done, producing the Sentiment and the Idea, before the nation is ready for the Act.

Now look at the special forces which are engaged in this enterprise. I divide them into two great Parties.

The first party consists of the Political Reformers, — men who wish to act by political machinery, and are in government offices, legislative, judicial, and executive.

The second party is the Non-political Reformers, who are not, and do not wish to be, in government offices, legislative, judicial, or executive.

Look a moment at the General Functions of each party, and then at the Particular Parties themselves, — at the Business, and then at the Business-men.

The Business of the political man, legislative, judicial, and executive, is confined to the third part of the antislavery work; namely, to Organizing the idea, and making the antislavery thought a thing. The Political Reformer, as such, is not expected to kindle the Sentiment or create the Idea, only to take what he finds ready, and put it into form. The political Legislative is to make laws and institutions which organize the idea. The political Judiciary is to expound the laws, and is limited thereby. The political Executive is to administer the institution, and is limited to that: he cannot go beyond it. So the Judiciary and the Executive are limited by the laws and institutions. The Legislature is chosen by the people to represent the people; that is, it is chosen to represent and to organize the ideas, and to express the sentiments, of the people, not to organize sentiments which are in advance of the people or which are behind the people. The political legislator is restricted by the ideas of the people: if he wants what they do not

want, then they do not want him. If Senator Wilson had a million of men and women in Massachusetts who entertained the sentiments and ideas of Mr. Garrison, why, he would represent the sentiments and ideas of Mr. Garrison, would express them in Congress, and would go to work to organize those ideas.

In hoisting the anchor of a ship, two sets of men are at work, two machines. One, I think, is called the windlass. Many powerful men put their levers to that, and hoist the anchor up out from the deep. Behind them is the capstan, whose business it is to haul in the rope. Now, the function of the non-political reformer is to hoist the anchor up from the bottom: he is the windlass. But the business of Chase, Hale, Sumner, and Wilson, and other political reformers, is to haul in the slack, and see that what the windlass has raised up is held on to, and that the anchor does not drop back again to the bottom. The men at the windlass need not call out to the men at the capstan, "Haul in more slack!" when there is no more to haul in. This is the misfortune of the position of the men at the capstan,—they cannot turn any faster than the windlass gives them slack rope to wind up. That ought to be remembered. Every political man, before he takes his post, ought to understand that; and the non-political men, when they criticize him never so sharply, ought to remember that the men at the capstan cannot turn any faster than the men at the windlass.

If the politician is to keep in office, he must accommodate himself to the ideas of the people; for the people are sovereign, and reign, while the politicians only govern with delegated power, but do not reign: they are agents, trustees, holding by a special power of attorney, which authorizes them to do certain things, for doing which they are responsible to the people. In order to carry his point, the politician must have a majority on his side: he cannot wait

for it to grow, but must have it now, else he loses his post. He takes the wolf by the ears ; and, if he lets go, the wolf eats him up: he must therefore lay hold where he can clinch fast and continue. If Mr. Sumner, in his place in the Senate, says what Massachusetts does not indorse, out goes Mr. Sumner. It is the same with the rest. All politicians are well aware of that fact. I have sometimes thought they forgot a great many other things; they very seldom forget that.

See the proof of what I say. If you will go into any political meeting of Whigs or Democrats, you shall find the ablest men of the party on the platform, — the great Whigs, the great Democrats; “the rest of mankind” will be on the floor. Now, watch the speeches. They do not propose an Idea, or appeal to a Sentiment that is in advance of the people. But, when you go into an antislavery meeting, you find that the platform is a great ways higher than the pews, uniformly so. Accordingly, when an African speaks (who is commonly supposed to be lower than “the rest of mankind”) and says a very generous thing, there is a storm of hisses all round this hall. What does it show? That the antislavery platform which the African stands on is somewhat higher than the general level of the floor even in the city of New York. The politician on his platform often speaks to the bottom of the floor, and not to the top of the ceiling.

So much for the political Reformers: I am not speaking of political Hunkers. Now a word of the non-political Reformers. Their business is, first, to produce the Sentiment; next, the Idea; and, thirdly, to suggest the mode of Action. The antislavery non-political reformer is to raise the cotton, to spin it into thread, to weave it into web, to prescribe the pattern after which the dress is to be made; and then he is to pass over the cloth and the pattern to the political reformer, and say, “Now, sir, take your shears, and

cut it out, and make it up." You see how very inferior the business of the political reformer is, after all. The non-political reformer is not restricted by any Law, any Constitution, any Man, nor by the People, because he is not to deal with institutions; he is to make the institutions better. If he do not like the Union, he is to say so; and, just as soon as he has gathered an audience inside of the Union that is a little too large for its limits, the Union will be taken down without much noise, and piled up,—just as this partition (alluding to the partition dividing the hall) has been taken down this morning,—and there will be a larger place. The non-political reformer can say, "Down with the Constitution!" but the political reformer has sworn to keep the Constitution. He is foreclosed from saying that to-day: by and by he can recant his oath, and say it when he gets ready. The non-political reformer is not restricted by fear of losing office. Wendell Phillips can say just what he pleases anywhere: if men will not hear him in Faneuil Hall, they will, perhaps, in the Old South Meeting-house. If they will not hear him there, he can speak on the Common; at any rate, in some little schoolhouse. The political reformer must have a majority with him, else he cannot do any thing; he has not carried his point or accomplished his end. But the non-political reformer has accomplished part of his end, if he has convinced one man out of a million; for that one man will work to convince another, and by and by the whole will be convinced. A political reformer must get a majority; a non-political reformer has done something if he has the very smallest minority, even if it is a minority of one. The politician needs bread: he goes, therefore, to the baker; and bread must be had to-day. He says, "I am starving; I can't wait." The baker says, "Go and raise the corn."—"Why, bless you!" he replies, "it will take a year to do that; and I can't wait." The non-political reformer does not



depend on the baker. The baker says, "I have not much flour." — "Very well," he says, "I am going to procure it for you." So he puts in the seed, and raises the harvest. Sometimes he must take the land wild, and even cut down the forest, and scare off the wild beasts. After he has done that preliminary work, he has to put in the antislavery seed, raise the antislavery corn, and then get the public baker to make the bread with which to feed the foremost of the political Reformers, — men like Seward, Hale, Sumner, and Wilson. They do all that is possible in their present position, with such a constituency behind them: they will do more and better soon as the people command; nay, — they will not wait for orders, — soon as the people allow them. These men are not likely to prove false to their trust. They urge the people forward.

So much for the Business. Now look at the Businessmen.

I. Look first at the Political part of the antislavery forces.

1. There is the Republican party. That is a direct force for antislavery; but, as the antislavery idea and sentiment are not very wide-spread, the ablest members of the Republican party are forced to leave their special business as politicians, and go into the elementary work of the non-political reformers. Accordingly, Mr. Wilson stumped all Massachusetts last year, — yes, all the North; not working for purpose purely political, but for a purpose purely antislavery, — to excite the antislavery Sentiment, to produce an antislavery Idea. And Mr. Sumner has had to do that work, even in our city of Boston. Yet New England is further advanced in antislavery than any other part of America. The superiority of the Puritan stock shows itself everywhere; I mean its moral superiority. Look at this platform: how many persons here are of New-England origin! If an antislavery meeting was held at San Fran-

cisco or New Orleans, it would be still the same; the platform would be Yankee. It is the foot of New England which stands on that platform. It is to tread slavery down. But, notwithstanding New England is the most antislavery portion of the whole land, these political men, whose business ought to be only to organize the antislavery ideas, and give expression to antislavery sentiments in the Senate or House of Representatives, are forced to abandon that work from time to time, to go about amongst the people, and produce the antislavery sentiment and idea itself. Let us not be very harsh in criticizing these men, remembering that they are not so well supported behind as we could all wish they were.

This Republican party has some exceedingly able men. As a Massachusetts man, in another State, I am not expected to say any thing in praise of Mr. Sumner or Mr. Wilson or Mr. Banks. It would be hardly decorous for a Massachusetts man, out of his own State, to speak in praise of those men. And they need no praise from my lips. And, as a New-England man, I think it is not necessary for me to praise Mr. Hale or Mr. Foote, Mr. Collamer, Mr. Fessenden, or any other eminent political men of New England. But, as a New Englander and a Massachusetts man, you will allow me to say a word in praise of one who has no drop of Puritan blood in his veins; who was never in New England but twice, — the first time to attend a cattle-show, and the last to stand on Plymouth Rock, on Forefathers' Day, and, in the bosom of the sons and daughters of the Puritans, to awaken the antislavery sentiment, and kindle the antislavery idea. I am speaking of your own Senator Seward. As I cannot be accused of State pride or of sectional vanity in praising him, let me say, that, in all the United States, there is not at this day a politician so able, so far-sighted, so cautious, so wise, so discriminating, and apparently so gifted with power to organize ideas

into men, and administer that organization, as William Henry Seward. I know the other men ; I detract nothing from them. It is a great thing to be second where Seward is first.

Of course, this party, as such, will make mistakes ; individual Republicans will do wrong things. It has been declared here that Mr. Hale says, in his place in the Senate, that he would not disturb slavery nor the slaveholders. I doubt that he ever said so in public ; I am sure it is not his private opinion. I know not what he said that has been so misunderstood. His sentiment is as strongly antislavery as our friend Garrison's ; but he is just now in what they call a "tight place : " he wants to do one thing at a time. The same is true of Henry Wilson and of Charles Sumner : they want to do one thing at a time. I do not find fault with their wishing to do that. The Constitution is the power of attorney which tells them how to act as official agents of the people ; how to govern for the sovereign people, whose vicegerents they are. But there are republican politicians who limit their work to one special thing, and say, "To-day will we do this, and then strike work for ever. We do not intend to do any thing to-morrow." They say, "Please God, we will pull up these weeds to-day." The South says, "You shan't!" And these men say, "Let us pull up these : we will never touch those which grow just the other side of the path." They hate those other weeds just as much ; they mean to pull them up : but I am sorry to hear them say they do not intend to ; and I am glad to hear severe censure passed upon them for promising never to do that particular thing, — not for taking one step at a time. If we only find fault with real offenders, we shall still have work enough to do.

I say this party has great names and powerful men. It will gain others from the Democrats and from the Whigs alike. See what it has gathered from the Democrats!

Look at that high-toned and noble newspaper, the "Evening Post," and its editor, not only gifted with the genius of poetry, which is a great thing, but with the genius of Humanity, which is tenfold greater. See likewise such a man as Francis P. Blair coming into this movement! Gov. Chase is another that it has gathered from that party. There are various other men whom I might mention from both the old political parties. Then see what service is rendered to the cause of humanity by a newspaper, which, a few years ago, seemed sworn for ever to Henry Clay. I speak of the only paper in the world which counts its readers by the million, — the "New-York Tribune." The Republican party gathers the best hearts and the noblest heads out of the Whig and the Democratic parties. If faithful, it will do more in this way for the future than in the past. The Democratic party continues to exist by these two causes: (1.) its admirable Organization; (2.) the Tradition of noble ideas and sentiments. In this respect, it is to the Americans what the Catholic church is to Europe; the leaders of the two about equally corrupt, the rank and file about equally deceived, hoodwinked, and abused. Which is the better, — to be Politician-ridden, or Priest-ridden? Good men will become weary of such service, and leave the party for a better, soon as they are sure that it is better.

2. Look next at the American party, so called: it is anti-American in some particulars. This is an indirect antislavery force, as the Republican party is a direct antislavery force. I suppose you know what its professed principle is, — "No foreign influence in our politics." Now, that principle comes partly from a national instinct, whose function is this: first, to prevent the excess of foreign blood in our veins; and, secondly, the excess of foreign ideas in the American consciousness. Well, it was necessary there should be that party. It has a very important function;

because it is possible for a people to take so much foreign blood in its veins, and so many foreign ideas to its consciousness, that its nationality perishes.

In part, this principle comes from the National Instinct; and that is always stronger in the great mass of the people than it is in any class of men with "superior education:" for the superior education consists almost wholly in development of the understanding, — the thinking part, — not in culture of the conscience, the affections, and the religious element. Therefore, for the National Instinct, I never look to lawyers, ministers, doctors, literary and scientific men, or, in short, to the class of men who have what is called the "best education:" I look to the great mass of the people. It seems to me that the National Instinct of the Saxon had something to do in making this principle of the American party so popular.

However, I do not think the chief devotion to this principle comes from that source, but from one very much corrupter than that, — a source a great deal lower than the uneducated mass of the Northern people. It comes from political partisans, — men who want office. There are two ways of getting into high office. One is to fly there: that is a very good way for an animal furnished with wings. The other is to crawl there: that is the only way left for such as have no wings, and no legs, and no arms. Well, there was a class of men at the North who could not fly into office; and when the way which led up to the office was perpendicular, and went up straight, they could not crawl; they were so slippery, that they fell off: there was not strength enough in their natural gluten to hold up their natural weight. Such men could not fly there; they could not crawl there, so long as the road went straight up; so they took the Know-Nothing plank, which sloped up pretty gradually; and on it Mr. Gardner crawled into the governorship of Massachusetts. A good many men, in various

other States, wormed up on that gently sloping inclined plane, who else never would have been within sight of any considerable office. Now, it is this class of men, who caught sight of that principle demanded by the national instinct, which fears an excess of foreign blood in our veins, and of foreign ideas in our consciousness; and they said, Let us make use of that as a wedge upon which we can crawl up into office. They have got in there; but before long they will fall out of their lofty hole, or, if they stay in, will be shrivelled up, dried clear through, and by and by be blown off so far that no particle of them will ever be found again. The American party just now, throughout all the United States, I fear, has fallen into the hands of this class of men. It does not any longer, I think, represent the instinct of the less-educated people, or the consciousness of the more thoughtful people, but the designs of artful, crafty, and rather low-minded persons.

But let no injustice be done. In the party are still noble men, who entered it full of this national instinct, with these three negations on their banner, — No Priestcraft, No Liquor, No New Slave States. Some of them still adhere to the worst of the leaders of their party. Loyalty is as strong in the Saxon as in the Russian or Spaniard; as often attaches itself to a mean man. It is now painful to see such faithful worshippers of such false “gods.” “An idol is Nothing,” says St. Paul: it may also be a Know Nothing.

This party, notwithstanding its origin and character, has done two good works, — one negative, one positive.

First, it helped destroy the Whig and Democratic party. That was very essential. The antislavery man, the non-political reformer, wanted to sow his seed in the national soil. It was dreadfully cumbered with weeds of two kinds, — Whig-weed and Democrat-weed. The Know Nothings lent their hands to destroy these weeds; and they have

pulled up the Whig-weed pretty thoroughly: they have torn it up by the roots, shaken the soil from it, and it lies there partly drying and partly rotting, but, at any rate, pretty thoroughly dead. They laid hold of the Democrat-weed. That was a little too rank, and strongly rooted in the ground, for them to pull up. Nevertheless, they loosened its roots; they gave it a twist in the trunk; they broke off some branches, and stripped off some of its leaves, and it does not look quite so flourishing as it did several years ago.

Now, this negative work is very important; for, if we could get both these kinds of weed out of the soil, it would not be a very difficult matter to sow the seed, and raise a harvest of antislavery.

Next for the positive work. It calls out men who hitherto have never taken the initiative in politics, but have voted just as they were bid. I will speak of Massachusetts, of Boston. We had there a large class of excellent men, who always went, a week or two before the election, to the Whigs and Democrats, and said, "Whom are we to vote for?" The great Whigs said, "We have not yet taken counsel of the Lord; we shall do so to-morrow, and then we will tell you." So these men went home, and bowed their knees, and waited in silent submission; and the next day their masters said, "You are to vote for John Smith or John Brown," or whosoever it chanced to be. And the people said, "Hurrah for the great John Smith!" "Hurrah for the great John Brown!" — "Did you ever hear of him before?" asked some one. "No: but he is the greatest man alive." — "Who told you so?" — "Oh! our masters told us so." Now, the Know Nothings went to that class of men, and said, "You have been fooled long enough." — "So we have," said the people, "and no mistake! and we will not bear it any longer." They would not be fooled any longer by the Whigs, and some of them no longer by

the Democrats; but they were fooled by the Know Nothings. Nevertheless, it was an important thing for this class of people to take the initiative in political matters. If they stumbled as they tried to go alone, it is what all children have done. "Up, and take another," is good advice. So the Know Nothings not only pulled up the Whig-weed, and left it to rot, but they stirred the land; they ploughed it deep with a subsoil plough, turning up a whole stratum of people which had never been brought up to the surface of the political garden before. That was another very important matter; and yet, allow me to say, with all this subsoiling, they have not turned up one single man who proves powerful in politics, and at the same time new. Mr. Wilson owes his place in the Senate to the Know Nothings: he was known to be a powerful man before. Mr. Banks owes his place to this party: he also was a powerful man before. I do not find, anywhere in the United States, that the Americans have brought one single able man before the people who was not known to the people just as well before. You shall determine what that fact means. I shall not say just now.

At the South, this party has done greater service than at the North; for, among the Non-Slaveholders at the South, there is a class of men with very little money, less education, and no social standing whatsoever. That class have been deprived of their political power by the rich, educated, and respectable slaveholders; for the slaveholders make the laws, fill the offices, and monopolize all the government of the South. Those Poor-whites are nothing but the dogs of the slaveholder. Whenever he says, "Seize him, Dirt-eater!" away goes this whole pack of pro-slavery dogs, catching hold of whomsoever their masters set them upon. This class of men, having no money and no education, and no means of getting any, deprived of political influence, felt that they were crushed down; but they were too igno-



rant to know what hurt them. They had no newspapers, no means of concerted action. Northern men have undertaken to help those men. Mr. Vaughan established his newspaper at Cleveland chiefly for the purpose of reaching them. Cassius M. Clay, in Kentucky, said, "Let us speak to that class of men." Once in a while, you hear of their holding a meeting somewhere in Virginia, and uttering some kind of antislavery sentiment or idea. Very soon they are put down. Now, the Know Nothings went among the Poor-whites in the South, and organized American lodges. The whole thing was done in secret; so that the organization was established, and set on its legs, before the slaveholders knew any thing about it: it was strong, and had grown up to be a great boy, before they knew the child was born. Of course, the Southern Know-Nothing party, at first, does not know exactly what to do; so it takes the old ideas of persons that are about it, and becomes intensely proslavery. That is not quite all. The Whigs at the South have always been feeble. They saw that their party was going to pieces; and, with the instinct of that other animal which flees out of the house which is likely to fall, they sought shelter under some safer roof: they fled to the Know-Nothing organization. The leading Whigs got control of the party at the South, and made that still more proslavery in the South which was already sufficiently despotic at the North. Nevertheless, there has now risen up, at the South, a body of men, who, when they come to complete consciousness of themselves, will see that they are in the same boat with the black man, and that what now curses the black man will also ruin the Poor-white at last. At present, they are too ignorant to understand that; for the bulk of the American party at the South consists of Know Nothings, who were such before they ever went into a lodge, — natural Know Nothings, who need no initiation. Nevertheless, they are

human; and the truth, driven with the slaveholder's hammer, will force itself even into such heads.

Such men are not hopeless. One day, we shall see a great deal of good come from them. At present, they are in the same condition with the Irish at Boston,—first, ignorant; and, next, controlled by their priests: for, as the Irish Catholic in Boston and New York is roughly ridden by that heavy ecclesiastical rider, the priest, so the Know Nothings at the South are still more roughly ridden by this desperate political rider mounted upon their backs. One day, both the Irish and the Know-Nothing master will be unhorsed, and there will be no more such riding.

So much for these two antislavery forces,—one direct, and the other indirect.

This, let me say in general, is the sin of the politician,—he seeks office for his own personal gain, and, when he is in it, refuses to organize the antislavery ideas which he was put in office to develop and represent. After the windlass has lifted the anchor, he refuses to haul in the slack cable. That was the case with Webster; it caused him his death. It was the case with Everett; it brought him to private life and political ruin. Many are elected as antislavery men, who prove false to their professions. New England is rich in traitors. The British Executive bought Benedict Arnold with money; the American Executive has since bought many an Arnold. Look at the present national Administration. In 1852, had he published his Programme of Principles and Measures, do you think Mr. Pierce would have had the vote of a single Northern State? Not an electoral vote would have been given by the North for robbing the People of a million square miles of land, and bestowing it on three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders! He is an official swindler. He got his place by false pretences,—the juggling trick of the thimble-rigger. Mr. Hale says, "For every doughfaced Representative,

there is a doughfaced constituency." It is true; but the constituency is not always quite so soft as the delegate: it is at least *slack-baked*, and does not pretend to be what it knows it is not.

Here, too, let me say, it is a great misfortune that the North has not sent more strong men to the political work. In time of war, you take the ablest men you can find, and put them to do the military work of the people. The North commonly sends her ablest men to science, literature, productive industry, trade, and manufactures; the South, hers to politics; and so she outwits and beats us from one fifty years to another. But, in such a terrible battle as this before us now, rest assured the North cannot afford to send her strong men to callings directly productive of pecuniary value: we must have them in politics, — men of great mind, able to see far behind and before; of great experience, to organize and administer. Above all must our statesmen be men of great Justice and Humanity, such as reverence the Higher Law of God. Integrity is the first thing needed in a statesman. The time may come when the men of largest human power may go to the shop, the counting-room, the farm, the ship, to science, or preaching: just now we cannot afford to make a land-surveyor out of a Washington, or turn our Franklins into tallow-chandlers. When we can afford such expenditure, I shall not object: now we are not rich enough to allow Moses to tend sheep, asses, and young camels, or to keep Paul at tent-making.

Here are the antislavery forces which are not political. They are various.

At first, the antislavery men looked to the American Church, and said, That will be our great bulwark and defender. Instead of being a help, it has been a hindrance. If the American Church, twenty years ago, could have dropped through the continent, and disappeared alto-

gether, the antislavery cause would have been further on than it is at this day. If, remaining above ground, every minister in the United States had sealed his lips, and said, "Before God, I will say no word for freedom or against it, in behalf of the slaveholder or of his victim," the antislavery enterprise would have been further on than it is at this day. I say, that, notwithstanding the majestic memory of William Ellery Channing, a magnanimous man, whose voice rung like a trumpet through the continent, following that other clearer, higher, more widely sounding voice, still spared to us on earth (Mr. Garrison's); notwithstanding the eloquent words which do honor to the name of Beecher and the heart of humanity; notwithstanding the presence of this dear good soul (referring to Samuel J. May), whose presence in the antislavery cause has been like the month whose name he bears, and has brought a whole lapful of the sweetest flowers, — the Church has hindered more than it has helped. For the tallest heads in the great sects were lifted up to blaspheme the God of righteousness, and commit the sin which Mr. Remond says is second only to Atheism, — the denial of humanity. While the Atheist openly denied God, many a minister openly denied Man. I think the minister committed the worst sin; for he sinned in the name of God, and hypocritically: he wrought his blasphemy that he might gain his daily bread, while the Atheist perilled his bread and his reputation when he stood up, and said, "I think there is no God." I have no respect for Atheism; but, when a man in the pulpit blasphemes the Divinity of God by treading the humanity of man under his anointed foot, I say I would take my chance in the next world with him who speaks out of his own heart, in his blindness, and says, "There is no God," rather than share the lot of that man who, in the name of Jesus and of the Father, treads down Humanity, and declares there is no Higher Law.

There are a great many direct antislavery forces.

1. The Conduct of the Slaveholders in the South, and their allies, has awakened the indignation of the North. The Fugitive Slave Bill was an antislavery measure. We said so six years ago; now we know it. Kidnapping is antislavery; it makes antislavery men. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise stirred antislavery sentiment in Northern hearts. The conduct of affairs in Kansas, Judge Kane's wickedness, and the horrible outrage at Cincinnati, — all these turn out antislavery measures. Mr. Douglas stands in his place in the Senate, and turns his face north, and says, "We mean to subdue you." The mass at the North says, "We are not going to be subdued." It is an antislavery resolution. The South repudiates democracy: the "Charleston Mercury" and the "Richmond Examiner" say that the Declaration of Independence is a great mistake when it says all men are by nature equal in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, — that there is no greater lie in the world. When the North understands that, it says, "I am antislavery at once." The North has not heard it yet thoroughly. One day it will.

2. Then there are the general effects of Education: it enlightens men, so that they can see that slavery is a bad speculation, bad economy.

3. Then there is the progressive Moralization of the North. The North is getting better, more and more Christian and humane. It was never so temperate as to-day, never so just, never so moral, never so humane and philanthropic. To be sure, even now we greatly overlook our black brother: it is because he is not an Anglo-Saxon. But he has Human blood in his veins: by and by we shall see our black brother also.

4. Then the better portion of the Northern Press is on our side. Consider what quantities of books have been written within the last ten years full of antislavery senti-

ment, and running over with antislavery ideas. Think of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the host of books, only inferior to that, which have been published. Then look at the newspapers. I just spoke of the "Evening Post," and "Tribune:" look at the "New-York Independent," with twenty thousand subscribers, with so much antislavery in it. It does not go the length that I wish it did, and sometimes it does very mean things; for it is not unitary. See what powerful antislavery agents are the "Evening Post," the "Independent," the "New-York Times," and the "New-York Tribune," and that whole army of newspapers, some of them in every northern city; not to forget the "National Era," at Washington. Besides these, there are the antislavery newspapers proper, the "Liberator," the "Standard," and divers others, only second where it is praise to be inferior.

5. Then there is the Antislavery Party proper, with its men, its money, and its immense force in the country. What power of religion it has! I know it has been called anti-religious, anti-Christian, Infidel. Was not Jesus of Nazareth nailed to the cross, between two thieves, on the charge that he blasphemed God? How rich is this party in its morals, how mighty in its eloquence! I am sorry its most persuasive lips are not here to-day to speak for themselves and for you, and instead of me. Here is Woman also in the antislavery ranks. I need say nothing of her: her own sweet music just now awoke the tune of humanity in your hearts, and I saw the antislavery Sentiment spring in tears out of your eyes. One day, from such watering, it will blossom into an antislavery Idea, and fruiteen into antislavery Acts.

(1.) Here is the merit of this antislavery party. It appeals to the very widest and deepest humanity. It knows no restriction of State or Church. If the State is wrong, the antislavery party says, "Away with the State!" if

the Church is mistaken, "Down with the Church!" If the people are wrong, then it says, "Woe unto you, O ye people! you are sinning against God, and your sin will find you out." It does not appeal to the politician, the priest, the editor alone; it goes to the people, face to face, eye to eye, heart to heart, and speaks to them, and with immense power. It knows no man after the flesh. Let me suppose an impossibility, — that Mr. May should become as Everett, and Mr. Garrison as Webster: would their sin be forgiven by the Abolitionists? No: those who sit behind them now would stand, not on this platform, but on this table, and denounce them for their short-coming and wrongdoing. They spare no man; they forgive no sin against the Idea of Freedom.

They are not selfish; for they ask nothing except an opportunity to do their duty. And they have had nothing except a "chance" to do that; always in ill report until now, when you shall judge how much there is of good report awaiting them.

They are untiring. I wish they would sink through the platform, so that I could say what would now put them to the blush before so large an audience.

They appeal to the high standard of absolute right. This is their merit. The nation owes them a great debt, which will not be paid in this life. Their reward is in the nobleness which does such deeds and lives such life: thus they will take with them "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and which fadeth not away."

(2.) Here, I think, is their defect. They forget, sometimes, that there must be political workmen. This comes from the fact, that, to so great an extent, they are Non-voters, even "non-resistants." If they were the opposite, they would have appealed to violence: being Quakers and non-resistants, they have not done quite justice always, it seems to me, to those who work in the political way.

This has been charged against them: that they quarrel among themselves; two against three, and three against two; Douglass against Garrison, and Garrison against Douglass; the Liberty-party men against the old Antislavery men; and all that. That is perfectly true. But remember why it is so. You can bring together a Democratic body, draw your line, and they all touch the mark: it is so with the Whigs. They have long been drilled into it. But, whenever a body of men with new ideas comes to organize, there are as many opinions as persons. Pilate and Herod, bitter enemies of each other, were made friends by a common hostility to Jesus; but, when the twelve disciples came together, they fell out: Paul resisted Peter; James differed from John; and so on. It is always so on every platform of new ideas, and will always be so,—at least for a long time. We must bear with one another the best we can.

I think that the antislavery party has not always done quite justice to the political men. See why. It is easy for Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips or me to say all of our thought. I am responsible to nobody, and nobody to me. But it is not easy for Mr. Sumner, Mr. Seward, and Mr. Chase to say all of their thought; because they have a position to maintain, and they must keep in that position. The political reformer is hired to manage a mill owned by the people, turned by the popular stream,—to grind into antislavery meal such corn as the people bring him for that purpose, and other grain also into different meal. He is not Principal and owner, only Attorney and Hired Man. He must do his work so as to suit his employers, else they say, "Thou mayest be no longer miller." The non-political reformer owns his own mill, which is turned by the stream drawn from his private pond: he put up the dam, and may do what he will with his own,—run it all night, on Sunday, and the Fourth of July; may grind just as he likes, for it is his own corn.



He sells his meal to such as will buy. He is in no danger of being turned out of his office; for he has no master,— is not Hired Man to any one.

The antislavery non-political reformer is to excite the Sentiment, and give the Idea: he may tell his whole scheme all at once, if he will. But the political reformer, who, for immediate action, is to organize the sentiment and idea he finds ready for him, cannot do or propose all things at once: he must do one thing at a time, tell one thing at a time. He is to cleave slavery off from the Government; and so must put the thin part of his wedge in first, and that where it will go the easiest. If he takes a glut as thick as an antislavery platform, and puts it in anywhere, head foremost, let him strike never so hard, he will not rend off a splinter from the tough log; nay, will only waste his strength, and split the head of his own beetle!

Still, this non-political, antislavery party—averse to fighting, hostile to voters under present, if not all possible, circumstances—has been of most immense value to mankind. It has been a perpetual critic on politicians; and now it has become so powerful that every political man in the North is afraid of it; and, when he makes a speech, he asks not only, What will the Whigs or the Democrats think of it? but, What will the antislavery men say; what will the “Liberator” and the “Standard” say of it? And, when a candidate is to be presented for the office of President, the men who make the nomination go to the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and say, “Whom do you want?” They go to the non-resistants of Massachusetts,—men that never vote or take office,—and ask if it will do to nominate this, that, or the other man. A true Church is to criticize the world by a higher standard. The non-political antislavery party is the Church of America to criticize the politics of America. It has been of immense service; it is now a great force.

6. Besides that, there is the Spirit of the Anglo-Saxon

tribe, which hates oppression, which loves justice and liberty, and will at last have Freedom for all. Look at its history for three hundred years,—from 1556, when the three millions of Old England were ruled by the Bloody Mary, to 1856, when the three millions of New England govern themselves! Do you fear for the next three hundred years? That historic momentum will not be lost.

7. Then there is the Spirit of the Age we live in. Only see what has been done in a century! A hundred years ago, there were slaves in every corner of the land. There are men on this platform, whose fathers, within fourscore years have not only owned black, but red and white slaves also. See what a steady march there has been of freedom in New England, and throughout the North,—likewise on the continent of Europe! Christendom repudiates bondage. Think of British and French emancipation, of Dutch and Danish. Slavery is only at home in three places in Christendom,—Russia, Brazil, and the south of the United States. A hundred years ago, there was not a spot in all Europe where there was not slavery in one form or another,—men put up at auction. It is only ninety-eight years ago since men were kidnapped in Glasgow, Scotland, and sold into bondage for ever in the city of Brotherly Love, at Philadelphia. That thing took place in 1758. See what an odds there is!

It is plain that American slavery is to end ultimately. It cannot stand. The question before us is, Shall it ruin America before it stops? I think it will not. The next question is, Shall it end peaceably, as the Quakers wish, and as all antislavery men wish, or shall it end in blood? On that point I shall not now give my opinion.



THE

**Present Crisis in American Affairs:**

THE SLAVEHOLDERS' ATTEMPT TO WRENCH THE TERRITORIES FROM  
THE WORKING PEOPLE,

AND

TO SPREAD BONDAGE OVER ALL THE LAND:

**A Speech**

DELIVERED ON THE EVENING OF MAY 7.

“ Oh ! ill for him, who, bettering not with time,  
    Corrupts the strength of Heaven-descended will,  
And ever weaker grows through acted crime,  
Or seeming-genial venial fault, —  
    Recurring and suggesting still !  
He seems as one whose footsteps halt, —  
    Toiling in immeasurable sand,  
    And o'er a weary, sultry land,  
Far beneath a blazing vault,  
    Sown in a wrinkle of the monstrous hill,  
The city sparkles like a grain of salt.”

## S P E E C H .

AMERICA has now come to such a pass, that a small misstep may plunge us into lasting misery. Any other and older nation would be timidly conscious of the peril; but we, both so confident of destined triumph and so wonted to success, forecast only victory, and so heed none of all this danger. Who knows what is before us? By way of warning for the future, look at the events in the last six years.

1. In the spring of 1850 came the discussions on the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the programme of Practical Atheism; for it was taught, as well in the Senate as the Pulpits, that the American Government was amenable to no Natural Laws of God, but its own momentary caprice might take the place of the Eternal Reason. "The Union is in danger" was the affected cry. Violent speeches filled the land, and officers of the Government uttered such threats against the people of the North as only Austrian and Russian ears were wont to hear. Even "discussion was to cease." That year, the principle was sown whence measures have since sprung forth, an evil blade from evil seed.\*

\* See Mr. Parker's Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons, Vol. II. Nos. VI.-X.

2. The next spring, 1851, kidnapping went on in all the North. Kane ruled in Philadelphia, Rynders in New York. Boston opened her arms to the stealers of men, who barked in her streets, and howled about the Cradle of Liberty, — the hiding-place of her ancient power. All the municipal authority of the town was delivered up to the kidnappers. Faneuil Hall was crammed with citizen-soldiers, volunteers in men-stealing, eager for their —

“Glorious first essay in war.”

Visible chains of iron were proudly stretched round the Court House. The Supreme Judges of Massachusetts crouched their loins beneath that yoke of bondage, and went under to their own place, wherein they broke down the several laws they were sworn and paid to keep. They gave up Thomas Sims to his tormentors. On the 19th of April, the seventy-sixth anniversary of the first battle of the Revolution, the city of Hancock and Adams thrust one of her innocent citizens into a slave-prison at Savannah; giving his back to the scourge, and his neck to the everlasting yoke.\*

3. In the spring of 1854 came the discussions on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; the attempt to extend bondage into the new Territory just opening its arms to the industrious North; the legislative effort to rob the Northern laborer thereof, and give the spoils to Southern slaveholders. Then came the second kidnapping at Boston: a Judge of Probate stole a defenceless man, and made him a slave. The old volunteer soldiers put on their regimentals again to steal another victim. But they were not quite strong enough alone; so the United-States troops of the line were called out to aid the work of protecting the orphan. It was

\* Parker, *ubi sup.* No. XI. Additional Speeches, &c., Vol. I. Nos. I. II.

the first time I ever saw soldiers enforcing the decisions of a New-England Judge of Probate; the first time I ever saw the United-States soldiers in any service. This was characteristic work for a democratic army! Hireling soldiers, mostly Irishmen, — sober that day, at least till noon, — in the public square loaded their cannon, charged their muskets, fixed their bayonets, and made ready to butcher the citizens soon as a slaveholder should bid them strike a Northern neck. The spectacle was prophetic.\*

4. Now, in 1856, New-England men migrate to Kansas, taking their wives, their babies, and their cradles. The Old Bible goes also on that pilgrimage, — it never fails the sons of the Puritans. But the fathers are not yet dead; —

“E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires.”

Sharp's rifle goes as missionary in that same troop; an indispensable missionary, an apostle to the Gentiles, whose bodily presence is not weak, nor his speech contemptible, in Missouri. All the parties go armed. Like the father, the pilgrim son is also a Puritan, and both trusts in God and keeps his powder dry.

A company went from Boston a few days ago, a few of my own friends and parishioners among them. There were some five and forty persons, part women and children. Twenty Sharp's rifles answered to their names, not to speak of other weapons. The ablest minister in the United States stirs up the “Plymouth Church” to contribute fire-arms to this new mission; and a spirit, noble as Davenport's and Hooker's, pushes off from New England, again to found a New Haven in the wilderness. The bones of the regicide sleep in Connecticut; but the revolutionary soul of fire flames forth in new processions of the Holy Ghost.

\* Parker, *Additional Speeches*, Vol. I. Nos. V. VI.; Vol. II. Nos. I.-IV.



In 1656, when Boston sent out her colonists, they took matchlocks and snaphances to fend off the red savage of the wilderness; in 1756, they needed weapons only against the French enemy; but, in 1856, the dreadful tools of war are to protect their children from the white border-ruffians, whom the President of the United States invites to burn the new settlements, to scalp and kill.

In 1850, we heard only the threat of arms; in 1851, we saw the volunteer muskets in the kidnapper's hand; in 1854, he put the United-States cannon in battery; in 1856, he arms the savage Missourians. But now, also, there are tools of death in the People's hand. It is high time. When the People are sheep, the Government is always a wolf. What will the next step be? Mr. Cushing says, "I know what is requisite; but it is *means that I cannot suggest!*" Who knows what *coup d'état* is getting ready? Surely affairs cannot remain long in this condition.

To understand this present emergency, you must go a long ways back, and look a little carefully at what lies deep down in the foundation of States.

The Welfare of a nation consists in these three things; namely: first, possession of Material Comfort, things of use and beauty; second, enjoyment of all the Natural Rights of body and spirit; and, third, the Development of the natural Faculties of body and spirit in their harmonious order, securing the possession of freedom, intelligence, morality, philanthropy, and piety. It ought to be the aim of a nation to obtain these three things in the highest possible degree, and to extend them to all persons therein. That nation has the most welfare which is the furthest advanced in the possession of these three things.

Next, the Progress of a nation consists in two things: first, in the Increasing Development of the natural Facul-

ties of body and spirit, — intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious, — with the consequent increasing enjoyment thereof; and, second, in the Increasing Acquisition of Power over the Material World, making it yield use and beauty, an increase of material comfort and elegance. Progress is increase of human welfare for each and for all. That is the most progressive nation which advances fastest in this development of human faculties, and the consequent acquisition of material power. There is no limit to this progress.

That is the superior nation, which, by nature, has the greatest amount of bodily and spiritual faculties, and, by education, has developed them to the highest degree of human culture, and, consequently, is capacious of the greatest amount of power over the material world, to turn it into use and beauty, and so of the greatest amount of universal welfare for all and each. The superior nation is capable of most rapid progress; for the advance of man goes on with accelerated velocity: the further he has gone, the faster he goes.

The disposition in mankind to acquire this increase of human development and material power, I will call the Instinct of Progress. It exists in different degrees in various nations and races: some are easily content with a small amount thereof, and so advance but slowly; others desire the most of both, and press continually forward.

Of all races, the Caucasian has hitherto shown the most of this instinct of progress, and, though perhaps the youngest of all, has advanced furthest in the development of the human faculties, and in the acquisition of power over the material world: it has already won the most welfare, and now makes the swiftest progress.

Of the various families of the Caucasian race, the Teutonic, embracing all the Germanic people kindred to our own, is now the most remarkable for this instinct of pro-

gress. Accordingly, in the last four hundred years, all the great new steps of peaceful Caucasian development have been first taken by the Teutonic people, who now bear the same relation to the world's progress that the Greeks did a thousand years before Christ, the Romans eight hundred years later, and the Romanized Celts of France at a day yet more recent.

Of the Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, or that portion thereof settled in the Northern States of America, have got the furthest forward in certain important forms of welfare, and now advance the most rapidly in their general progress. With no class of capitalists or scholars equal to the men of great estates and great learning in Europe, the whole mass of the people have yet attained the greatest material comfort, enjoyment of natural rights, and development of the human faculties. They feel most powerfully the general instinct of progress, and advance swiftest to future welfare and development. Here the bulk of the population is Anglo-Saxon; but this powerful blood has been enriched by additions from divers other sources,—Teutonic and Celtic.

The great Forces which, in the last four hundred years, have most powerfully and obviously helped this welfare and progress, may be reduced to two marked tendencies, which I will sum up in the form of ideas, and name the one Christianity, and the other Democracy.

By Christianity, I mean that form of religion which consists of Piety—the love of God, and Morality—the keeping of his laws. That is not the Christianity of the Christian Church, nor of any sect; it is the Ideal Religion which the human race has been groping after, if haply we might find it. It is yet only an Ideal, actual in no society.

By Democracy, I mean government over all the people, by all the people, and for the sake of all. Of course, it is

government according to the natural Law of God, by Justice, the point common to each man and all men, to each nation and all mankind, to the human race and to God. In a democracy, the people reign with sovereign power; their elected servants govern with delegated trust. There is National Unity of Action, represented by law; this makes the nation one, a whole; it is the Centripetal Force of society. But there is also Individual Variety of Action, represented by the personal freedom of the people who ultimately make the laws; this makes John John, and not James, the individual a free person, discrete from all other men; this is the Centrifugal Force of society, which counteracts the excessive solidification that would else go on. Thus, by Justice, the one and the many are balanced together, as the centripetal and centrifugal forces in the solar system.

This is not the democracy of the parties, but it is that ideal government, the reign of righteousness, the kingdom of justice, which all noble hearts long for, and labor to produce, the Ideal whereunto mankind slowly draws near. No nation has yet come so close to it as the people of some of the Northern States, who are yet far beneath ideals of government now known, that are yet themselves vastly inferior to others which mankind shall one day voyage after, discover, and annex to human possession.

In this Democracy, and the tendency towards it, two things come to all; namely, Labor and Government.

Labor for material comfort, the means of use and beauty, is the duty of all, and not less the right, and practically the lot, of all; so there is no privilege for any, where each has his whole natural right. Accordingly, there is no permanent and vicariously idle class, born merely to enjoy and not create, who live by the unpurchased toil of others; and, accordingly, there is no permanent and vicariously working-

class, born merely to create and not enjoy, who toil only for others. There is mutuality of earning and enjoying: none is compelled to work vicariously for another, none allowed to rob others of the natural fruit of their toil. Of course, each works at such calling as his nature demands: on the *mare liberum*, the open sea of human industry, every personal bark sails whither it may, and with such freight and swiftness as it will or can.

Government, in social and political affairs, is the right of all, not less their duty, and practically the lot of each. So there is no privilege in politics, no lordly class born to command and not obey, no slavish class born to serve and not command: there is mutuality of command and obedience. And as there is no compulsory vicarious work, but each takes part in the labor of all, and has his share in the enjoyment thereof; so there is no vicarious government, but each takes part in the making of laws and in obedience thereunto.

Such is the ideal democracy, nowhere made actual.

Practically, Labor and Government are the two great forces in the Education of Mankind. These take the youth where schools and colleges leave him, and carry him further up to another seminary, where he studies for what honors he will, and graduates into such degrees as he can attain to.

This sharing of Labor and Government is the indispensable condition for human Development; for, if any class of men permanently withdraws itself from Labor, first it parts from its human sympathy; next it becomes debauched in its several powers; and presently it loses its masculine vigor and its feminine delicacy; and dies, at last, a hideous ruin. Do you doubt what I say? Look, then, at the Roman aristocracy from two centuries before Christ to four centuries after, — at the French aristocracy from Louis XIII. to Louis XVI.

If any class of men is withheld from Government, — from its share in organizing the people into social, political, and ecclesiastical forms, from making and executing the laws, — then that class loses its manhood and womanhood, dwindles into meanness and insignificance, and also must perish. For example, look at the populace of Rome from the second century before Christ to the fourth after; look at the miserable people of Naples and Spain, too far gone ever to be raised out of the grave where they are buried now; look at the inhabitants of Ireland, whose only salvation consists in flight to a new soil, where they may have a share in political government, as well as in economic labor.

So much for the definition of terms frequently to be used, and the statement of the great principles which lie at the foundation of human progress and welfare.

Now, in the history of a nation, there are always two operating forces, — one positive, the other negative. One I will call the Progressive Force. It is that Instinct of Progress just named, with the sum total of all the excellences of the people, their hopefulness, human sympathy, virtue, religion, piety. This is the power to advance. The other I will call the Regressive Force; that is, the *vis inertiae*, the sluggishness of the people, the sum total of all the people's laziness and despair, all the selfishness of a class, all the vice and anti-religion. This is power to retard. I do not speak of the conservative force which would keep, or the destructive force which would wastefully consume, but only of those named. The destructive force in America is now small; the conservative, or preservative, exceeding great.

Every nation has somewhat of the progressive force, each likewise something of the regressive. Let me illus-

trate this regressive force a little further. You sometimes in the country find a thriving, hardy family, industrious, temperate, saving, thrifty, up early and down late. By some unaccountable misfortune, there is born into the family, and grows up there, a lazy boy. He is weak in the knees, drooping in the neck, limber in the loins, and sluggish all over. He rises late in the morning, after he has been called many times, and, in the dog-days, comes down whilst his mother is getting breakfast, and hangs over the fire. Most of you have doubtless seen such; I have, to my sorrow. That is one form of the regressive force. He is what the Bible calls a heaviness to his mother, and a grief to his father. There is a worse retarding force than this; to wit: sometimes a bad boy is born into the family with head enough, but with a devilish heart; he is a malformation in respect to all the higher faculties,— a destructive form of the regressive force. Now, a nation may have that regressive force in these two forms,— the lazy retardative, the wicked destructive.

Sometimes this Progressive Force seems limited to a small class of persons,— men of genius, like the Hebrew prophets, the Socratic philosophers, the German reformers of the sixteenth century, or the French *savants* of the eighteenth. But it is not likely it is really thus limited; for these men of genius are merely trees of the common kind, rooted into the public soil, but grown to taller stature than the rest.

In the Northern States of America, and also in England and Scotland, it is plain this progressive force is widely spread among the great mass of the people, who are not only instinctively, but of set purpose, eager for progress; that is, for the increasing development of faculties, and for the consequent increasing power over the material world, transforming it to use and beauty. New England is a monument attesting this fact. But still this force arrives

to its highest form in men of genius. Here, in the North, you may find men of money, men of education, literary culture, and scientific skill; men of talent,—able to learn readily what can now be taught,—who do not share this progressive instinct, whose will is regressive: but these are exceptional men,—some maimed by accident, others impotent from their mother's womb; whom no Peter and John could make otherwise than halt and lame. But all the men of genius—aboriginal power of sight, ability to create, to know and teach what none learned before—are on the side of this progressive force. In all the Northern States, I know but one exception among the men of politics, science, art, letters, or religion. Even in his Cradle, the Northern genius strangles the regressive snakes of Foggydom. Still, these men of genius are not the Cause of the progressive force, only expressions of it; not its exclusive depositaries. They are the thunder and lightning, perhaps the rain, out of the cloud, sparks from the electric charge: they are not the cloud; they did not make it. Of course, where the cloud is fullest of the fire of heaven, there is the reddest lightning, the heaviest thunder, and the most abounding rain. Still, the men of genius did not make the progressive spirit of the North; they but express and help to educate that force.

In the North, those two educational factors, Labor and Government, are widely diffused: more persons partake of each than anywhere else in the world. So there is no exclusive, permanent Servile Class,—none that does all the work, and enjoys none of the results: there is no exclusive and permanent Ruling Class; all are masters, all servants; all command, and all obey.

So much for the progressive force.

The Regressive Force may consist in the general sluggishness of the whole mass of the people: then it will be



either an ethnological misfortune, which belongs to the constitution of the race,—and I am sorry to say that the Africans share that in the largest degree, and accordingly have advanced the least of any of the races,—or else an historic accident entailed on them by oppression; and that is the case also with a large portion of the Africans in America, who have a double misfortune,—that of ethnologic nature and historic position. But among the Caucasians, especially among the Teutons, this regressive force is chiefly lodged in certain classes of men, who are exceptional to the mass of the people, by an accidental position separated therefrom, and possessed of power thereover, which they use for their own selfish advantage, and against the interest of the people. They commonly aim at two things,—to shun all the labor, and to possess all the government.

This exceptional position was either the accidental attainment of the individual, or else a trust thereto delegated from the people; but the occupiers of the trust considered it at length as their natural, personal right, and so held to it as a finality, and asked mankind to stop the human march in order that they might rejoice in their special occupation. Thus the fletchers of the fourteenth century, who got their bread by making bows and arrows, opposed the use of gunpowder and cannon; thus the scribes of the fifteenth century opposed printing, and said Dr. Faustus was “possessed by the Devil.” In England, two hundred years ago, every top-sawyer resisted the use of saw-mills to cut logs into boards, and wanted to draw off the water from the ponds. Forty years ago, the hand-weaver of England opposed power-looms. In 1840, the worshipful company of ass-drivers in Italy begged the Pope of Rome not to allow a single railroad in his territory, because it would injure their property invested in packsaddles and jackasses. The Pope consented; and no steam-engine dared to scream

and whistle in the Papal States. In Boston, twenty years ago, the Irishmen objected to steam pile-drivers, and broke them to pieces: just now, the stevedores of Boston insist that ships shall not be unladen by horses or steam-power, but that a man, who yet has a head, shall live only by the great muscles in his arms; that all merchandise shall be taken out of ships by an Irishman hanging at the end of a rope. All these men consider that their exceptional position and accidental business is a finality of human history, a natural right, which the top-sawyer, the scribe, and the others have, to stop mankind. The stevedore and handloom weaver must have no competitors in the labor market; the steam-engine must be shoved off the track, in order that the donkey may have the whole country wherein to bray and wheeze.

In Europe, at this day, the regressive force is lodged chiefly in the twofold aristocracy which exists there, ecclesiastical and political. In the sixteenth century, mankind, and especially the Teutonic family, longed to have more Christianity: the priestly class, with the Pope at their head, refused, hewed the people to pieces, burnt them to ashes at Madrid and Oxford. The priest stood between the people and the Bible, and said, "The word of God belongs to us: it is for the priests only, not for you, you infidels; down with you!" He counted his stand as the stopping-place of mankind: the human race must not go an inch further,— he would kill all that tried. The result attained was a Finality. So the thinker must be burned alive, that the ass-driver might have the whole world to snap his fingers in and cough to his donkey! Even now the same class of men repeat the old experiment; and, in Italy, Spain, and Spanish America, the regressive power carries the day.

In this century, when the people of Europe wished to move on a little nearer to Democracy than before, the poli-

tical class of aristocrats refused to suffer it; they put men of political genius in jail, or hung them. Kossuth and Mazzini were lucky men to escape to a foreign land: thousands fled to America. In Europe, at present, and especially on the continent, this regressive power carries the day, and the progressive force is held down. For priests, kings, and nobles, inheriting a position which was once the highest that mankind had attained to, and then taking it as a trust, now count it a right of their own, a finality of the human race, the end of man's progress.

When a nation permanently consents to this triumph of the regressive over the progressive force, allows one class to do all the government and shun all the labor, it is presently all over with that nation. Look at Italy, with Rome and Naples; at Spain, which is too far gone even to be galvanized into life. See what already takes place in France, where the son of the nephew has just been born, and the little baby is recognized as Emperor. Look at an election-day in Massachusetts, where the people choose one of themselves to be their temporary Governor, responsible to them, swearing him on their statute-book: compare that with the preparation which Napoleon the Little made to anticipate the birth of Napoleon the Least! Why, the garments got ready for this equivocal baby have already cost more than the clothes of all our Presidents since "a young Buckskin taught a British General the art of fighting." Eighty thousand dollars is decreed to pay for baptizing this imperial bantling. If twice that sum could christen the father, it might not be ill spent, if thereto decreed. Look at New England, and then at Spain, to see the odds between a people that has the progressive force uppermost, and a nation where the regressive force has trod the people down, and become, as it must, destructive. The Romanic nations of Italy and Spain, and the Romanized Celts of France, consent to a despotism which puts all the labor on the people, and

takes all the government from them : they easily enough accept the rule of the political and ecclesiastical aristocracy. But the Teutons, especially the Saxon Teutons, and, above all others, those in the Northern States of America, with their immense love of individual liberty, hate despotism, either political or ecclesiastical. They perpetually demand more Christianity and Democracy ; that each shall do his own Work, and rejoice in its result ; that each shall have his share in the Government of all. The women, long excluded from this latter right, now claim, and will at length, little by little, gain it. When all thus share the burthens and the joys of life, there is no class of men compelled by their position to hate society : so Law and Order prevail with ease ; each keeps step with all, nor wishes to stay the march ; property is secure, the government popular. But when one class does all the ruling, and forces all the toil on another class, nothing is certain but trouble and violence. Thus, in St. Domingo, red rebellion scoured black despotism out of the land, but with blood. If a government, like a pyramid, be wide at the bottom, it takes little to hold it up.

So much for the regressive force.

In the United States, we have two Peoples in one nation, similar in origin, united in their history, but for the last two generations so diverse in their institutions, their mode of life, their social and political aims, that now they have become exceedingly unlike, even alien and hostile ; for, though both the stems grow out from the same ethnologic root, one of them has caught such a mildew from the ground it hangs over, and the other trees it mixes its boughs among, that its fruit has become "peculiar," and not like the native produce of the sister trunk. One of these I will call the Northern States, the other the Southern States. At present, there is a governmental bond put round

both, which holds them together ; but no moral union makes the two one. There is no unity of idea between them. A word of each.

In the Northern States, we have a population fifteen millions strong, mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, but early crossed with other Teutonic blood, — Dutch, German, Scandinavian, — which bettered the stock. Of late, numerous Celts have been added to the mixture, but so recently that no considerable influence yet appears in the collective character, ideas, or institutions of the North. A hundred years hence, the ethnologic fruits of this other seed will show themselves.

These Northern Saxons, moreover, are mainly descended from men who fled from Europe because they had Ideas, at least Sentiments, of Christianity and Democracy which could not be carried out at home. They are born of Puritan Pilgrims, who were the most progressive portion of the most progressive people, of the most progressive stock, in all Christendom. They came to America, not for ease, honor, money, or love of adventure, but for conscience' sake, for the sake of their Christianity and their Democracy. Such men founded the chief Northern colonies and institutions, and have controlled the doctrines and the development thereof to a great degree.

We see the result of such parentage : more than all other nations of the earth, the North has cut loose from the evil of the past, and set its face towards the future. At one extreme, it has no lordly class, ecclesiastical or political, exclusively and permanently to shun labor and monopolize government, vicariously to enjoy the result of work, vicariously to rule ; and, at the other extreme, there is no class slavishly and unwillingly to do the work, and have none of its rewards ; to suffer all the obedience, and enjoy none of the command. No class is permanent, highest or lowest. The Northern

States are progressively Christian, also progressively democratic, in the sense just given of Christianity and Democracy. No people on earth has such material comfort, such enjoyment of natural rights of body and spirit already possessed, such general development of the human faculties. But the attainment does not satisfy us; for we share this Instinct of Progress to such a degree, that no achievement will content us. Be the present harvest never so rich, our song is, —

“To-morrow to fresh fields and pastures new.”

No nation has such Love of Liberty, such Individual Variety of Action, or such National Unity of Action; nowhere is such Respect for Law; nowhere is Property so secure, Life so safe, and the Individual so little disturbed. And, with all this, we are not at all destructive, but eager to create, and patient to preserve. The first thing which a Northern man lays hold of is a working-tool, an axe, or a plough; the last thing he takes in hand is a fighting-tool, a bowie-knife, a rifle: he never touches that till he is driven to the last extremity. He loves to organize productive Industry, not War.

So much for the nation North.

Next, there are the Southern States, ten millions in population. There also the original germ was Anglo-Saxon, to which additions were made from other stocks, Teutonic and Celtic, though in a smaller degree: France and Spain added more largely to the mixture. But what has most affected the ethnological character of the South is the African element. There are three and a half millions of men, in the Southern States, of African origin, whereof half a million are (acknowledged) mulattoes, African Caucasians; but those monumental half-breeds are much more numerous than the census dares confess.

This is not the only human difference between the North and the South. While the Saxons, who originally came to the North, and have since controlled its institutions and ideas, were mainly Pilgrims, who, driven by persecution, fled hither for the sake of establishing Democracy and Christianity, — the foremost people in an age of movement, when revolution shook the whole Teutonic world, bringing the most Christian and democratic Institutions and Ideas of their age, and developing them to forms still more human and progressive, — the settlers of the South were Adventurers, who came to America to mend their fortunes, for the sake of money, ease, honor, love of change. Whilst subsequently emigrants came from Europe to the North of their own accord, shared the Northern labor and Government, partook of its Christianity and Democracy, partook of its best influences, and soon mingled their blood in the great stream of Northern population; many persons from Africa were forced to immigrate to the South, and, by legal violence, compelled to more than their share of labor, driven from all share in the government, branded as inferior, and mingled with the Caucasian population only in illicit lust, — which bastardized its own sons and daughters, — and were made subordinate to the owners' lash. While the North, from 1620 to 1856, has aimed to spread Education over all the land, and facilitate the acquisition of Property by the individual, and prevent its entailment in families, or its excessive accumulation by transient corporations, the South has always endeavored to limit education, making it the exclusive monopoly of the few, — who yet learned not much, — and now makes it a State-prison offence to teach the laboring class to read and write: it aims to condense money into large sums, permanently held, if not in families, at least in a class.

Thus, at one extreme, the South had formed a permanently idle and lordly class, who shun labor, and monopolize government.

The South culminates in Virginia and South Carolina, which bear the same relation to the Slave States that New England does to the Free States; that is, they are the mother-city of population, ideas, institutions, and character. As I just said, Christendom cannot boast a population in any other country where there are fifteen millions of men so nobly developed as the fifteen millions of the North; so far advanced in Christianity and Democracy; with so much material comfort, enjoyment of natural rights, and development of natural powers. Compare New England with Old England, Scotland, France, Saxony, Belgium, Prussia, any of the foremost nations of Europe, and you see that it is so. But take the ten millions of the South, and see what they are: nowhere in Europe, north of Turkey and west of Russia, can you find ten millions of contiguous men who have so low a development, intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious, as the ten millions of the Slave States; nowhere can you find Caucasians or any other people in Western Europe so slightly advanced above the savage. Three and a quarter millions are actual slaves. Take the States of Virginia and South Carolina, in which the South comes to its flower: there are one million one hundred and seventy thousand whites, nine hundred and twenty thousand colored, whereof eight hundred and sixty thousand are slaves; that is to say, out of two millions, more than one-third are only human Property, not counted as human Persons. In South Carolina, out of a hundred native whites over twenty years of age, there are seven who cannot read the name PIERCE, the political lord they worship; in Virginia, out of a hundred native whites over twenty years, there are nine who cannot write the word SLAVE, nor spell it after it is written all over their State; whereas, in Massachusetts, out of four hundred persons over twenty, there is only one man who cannot write, with his own hand, LIBERTY FOR ALL MEN, NOW AND FOR EVER!



Take the two million population of Virginia and South Carolina: there is no people in Western Europe so little advanced as they; and, in all Christendom, there are only two nations or collections of men who stand on the same level, — the Russian empire and Spanish America. Behold the reason for the phenomenon which struck many with surprise, — that South Carolina and Virginia, in their politics, have recently sympathized with Russia and Brazil. Birds of a feather flock together, like consorting with like.

Here, then, are these two nations, alike in their ethnological origin, joint in their history, now utterly diverse and antagonistic in disposition and aim. The North has organized Freedom, and seeks to extend it; the South, Bondage, and aims to spread that. The North is progressively Christian and democratic; while the South is progressively anti-Christian and undemocratic. First, only the Southern Measures were anti-Christian and undemocratic; now, also its Principles. It lays down anti-Christianity and anti-Democracy as the only theory of religion and politics. In New England, Man is put before Property, the human substance above the material accident; in Virginia and South Carolina, Property is put before Man, the material accident before the human substance itself; and, of all property, that which is most valued and most carefully preserved, thought most "aristocratic" and sacred, is property in the bodies of men.

That is the odds between the North and the South.

Now, the Progressive Power of America is lodged chiefly in the North, where it is diffused almost universally amongst the people, but most conspicuously comes to light in the men of genius. Accordingly, every man of Poetic or Scientific Genius in the North is an antislavery man; every preacher with any spark of Christian Genius in him is a progressive man, and hostile to slavery.

The Regressive Power is lodged chiefly at the South, where it is considerably diffused among the people. That wide diffusion comes partly from the ethnologic sluggishness of the African element mixed in with the population, but still more from the degradation incident to a people who have long sat under tyrannical masters. It is this which has debased the Caucasian of Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina.

But as the progressive force of the North comes clearest to light in the men of genius, so the regressive force at the South is most shown in the men of eminent ability, ecclesiastical and political, of whom not a single man is publicly progressive in Christianity or Democracy. Compare the spirit of the great newspapers of the South, the "Richmond Examiner," the "Charleston Mercury," with those of the North, the "New-York Tribune," the "Evening Post;" compare the Southern politicians, the Masons and Toombses, with the Swards and Chases of the North. See the odds between the mass of the people at the North and the South; between the eminent genius, all of which at the North is progressive, but all of which at the South turns its back on human progress, and would leave humanity behind. There is the difference.

This regressive force accepts Slavery as the Dagon of its idolatry, its "peculiar institution;" and slavery is to the South what the Book of Mormon or the car of Juggernaut is to its worshippers. This institution is so iniquitous and base, that, in Christian Europe, all the Teutonic nations have swept it away; and all the Celtic, all the Romanic nations, even the inhabitants of Spain, have trodden bondage under their feet. Yes, the Ugrians have driven out such slavery from Hungary, from Livonia, from Lapland itself; and, of all parts of Europe, Russia and Turkey alone still keep the unclean thing; but even there it is progressively diminishing. As a Measure, it is felt to be excep-

tional, and publicly denounced; as a Principle, no man defends it: it is there as a fact without a theory. Only two tribes in Christendom yet hold to the theory of this unholy thing,—Spanish America and the Slave part of Saxon America, the two Barbary States of the New World.

All the regressive power of Christendom gathers about American slavery, which is the stone of stumbling, the rock of offence, in the world's progress.

Slavery is the great Obstacle to the present Welfare and future Progress of the South itself. It prevents the mass of the Southern people from the possession of Material Comfort,—use and beauty; from the enjoyment of their Natural Rights; and also, for the future, it hinders them from the increasing Development of their natural Faculties, and the consequent increasing Acquisition of Power over the Material World. It hinders Christianity and Democracy, which it would destroy, or else itself must thereby be brought to the ground. It shuts the mass of the people from their share of the Government of society, forces many to unnatural and vicarious Labor, and robs them of the fruit of their toil. Thus it is the great obstacle alike to present Welfare and future Development.

The Head-quarters of this Regressive Force are at the South, where its avowed organization and its institutions may be found. At the North it has three classes of allies. Here they are:—

1. The first class is of *base* men, such as are somewhat inhuman by birth; men organized for cruelty, as fools for folly, idiotic in their conscience and heart and soul. If there had been no “inherited sin” up to last night, these men would have “originated” it the first thing this morning; if Adam had had no “fall,” and the ground did not incline downward anywhere, they would dig a pit on their own account, and leap down headlong of their own accord.

These men are aboriginal kidnappers, and grow up amid the filth of great towns, sweltering in the gutters of the metropolitan pavement at Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York. Nay, you find them even at Boston, lurking in some office, prowling about the Court House, sneaking into alleys, barking in the newspapers to let their masters know their whereabouts, turning up their noses in the streets, snuffing after some victim as the wind blows from Virginia or Georgia, and, generally, seeking whom they may devour. These are "earthly, sensual, devilish." For the honor of humanity, this class of men is exceedingly small, and, like other poisonous vermin, commonly bears its warning on its face.

2. The next class is of *mean* men, of large acquisitiveness, or else a great love of approbation, little conscience, little affection, and only just religion enough to swear by. These men you can buy with office, honor, money, or with a red coat and a fife and drum. There are a great many such persons; you find them in many places; and, for the disgrace of my own profession, I am sorry to say they are sometimes in the pulpit, taking a South-Side view of all manner of tyranny, volunteering to send their mothers into bondage, and denying the Higher Law of God.

3. The third class is of *ignorant* men, who know no better, but may be instructed.

At the South, this regressive force is thus distributed: (1.) There are three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, who, with their families, make up a population of a million and three-quarters; (2.) there are four and three-quarter millions of non-slaveholders, and (3.) three and a half millions of slaves. A word of each.

1. First, of the Slaveholders. Slavery makes them rich: they own the greater part of the land and all the slaves, and control the greater part of the colored or white laboring population. Slavery is a peculiar curse to the South

in general, but a peculiar comfort to the slaveholders. They monopolize the education, own the wealth, have all the political power, of the South,—are the “aristocracy.” But, since the American Revolution, I think this class has not borne and bred a single man who has made any valuable contribution to the art, science, literature, morals, or religion of the American people. Marshall’s “Life of Washington” is the only great literary work of the South; its hero was born in 1732, its author in 1755; and both, Washington the hero and Marshall the writer, at their death, abjured the “peculiar institution” of the South.

The Southern “aristocracy” rears two things,—Negro Slaves, of which it is often the father; and Regressive Politicians, who make the institutions to keep the slaves in bondage for ever, shutting them out from Christianity and Democracy. Behold the “aristocracy” of the South! By their fruits ye shall know them. Of the general morals of this class, I need not speak: “the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.” Since the 1st of January, they have burned four negroes alive, as a joyous spectacle and “act of faith;” a sort of profession of Christianity, like the more ceremonious *Autos-da-fe* of their Spanish prototypes. Yet among the slaveholders are noble men; some who, but for their surroundings, would have stood with those eminent in talent, station, and in service, too, the forerunners of human progress. Blame them for their wrong, pity them for the misfortune which they suffer. Yet let me do the South no injustice. Her three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders have ruled the nation for sixty years; her politicians have beat the North in all great battles.

Now, we commonly judge the South by the slaveholders. This is wrong: it is like measuring England by her gentry, France and Germany by their men of science and letters, Italy by her priests. You shall judge what the whole mass

of the people are when the "aristocracy," the picked men, are of that stamp.

2. Next are the Non-Slaveholders, four and three-quarter millions of men. Some of these are noble men, with property in land and goods, with some intelligence; but, as a class, they are both necessitous and illiterate, with small political power. They are cursed by slavery, which they yet defend; for it makes labor a disgrace, and, if poor, puts them on the same level with the slave himself. Slavery hinders their development in respect to property, intellectual culture, and manly character; yet, as a whole, they are too ignorant to understand the cause which keeps them down. The morals of this class are exceedingly low: it abounds in murders, and is full of cruelty towards its victims. Nay, where else in Christendom, save Spanish America, is the Caucasian found to take delight in burning his brother with a slow fire, for his own sport, and to please a licentious mob?

3. The third class consists of the Slaves themselves; of whom I need say only this,—that public opinion and the law, which is only the thunder from that cloud, keep them at Labor and from Government, from Christianity and Democracy, from all the Welfare and Development of the age, and seek to crush out the Instinct of Progress from the very nature of the victims. The slave has no Personal Rights, ecclesiastical, political, social, economical, individual; no right to property,—a human accident; none to his body or soul,—the substance of humanity itself.

But I fear you do not yet quite understand the difference between the Regressive Force of Slavery at the South, and the Progressive Force of Freedom at the North. Therefore, to see in noonday light the effect of each on the present Welfare and the future Progress of a people, compare an old typical Slave State with an old typical Free State,

and then compare a new Slave State with a new Free State.

1. South Carolina contains 29,385 square miles of land ; Connecticut, 4,674. In 1850, South Carolina had 668,507 inhabitants, whereof 283,523 were free, and 384,984 slaves ; while Connecticut had 370,792 inhabitants, all free.

The government value of all the land in South Carolina was \$5.08 an acre ; in Connecticut it was \$30.50 the acre. All the farms in South Carolina contained 16,217,700 acres, and were worth \$82,431,684 ; while the farms of Connecticut were worth \$72,726,422, though they contained only 2,383,879 acres. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the old States.

In 1850, South Carolina had 340 miles of railroad ; and Connecticut 547, on a territory not equal to one-sixth of South Carolina. In 1855, South Carolina had \$11,500,000 in railroads ; Connecticut had then \$20,000,000.

The shipping of South Carolina amounts to 36,000 tons ; in Connecticut, to 125,000, though she is not advantageously situated for navigation.

The value of the real and personal property in South Carolina, in 1850, was estimated by the Federal Government at \$288,257,694. This includes the value of all the slaves, who, at \$400 apiece, amount to \$153,993,600. Subtracting this sum, which is neither property in *land* nor *things*, but wholly *unreal* and fictitious, there remains \$134,264,094 as the entire property of the great Slave State ; while the total valuation of the land and things in Connecticut, in 1850, was \$155,707,980. In other words, in South Carolina, 670,000 persons, with 30,000 square miles of land, are worth \$134,000,000 ; while in Connecticut, 370,000 men, with only 4,600 square miles of land, are worth \$156,000,000. Thus do slavery and freedom affect the *general wealth* of the people in the old States.

In 1850, South Carolina had 365,026 persons under

twenty years of age : her whole number of pupils, at schools, academies, and colleges, was 40,373. Connecticut had only 157,146 persons of that age, but 83,697 at school and college. Will you say it is of no consequence whether the *colored child* is educated or not ? Then remember that South Carolina had 149,322 white children, and only sent 40,373 of them to school at all in that year ; while, out of 153,862 white children, Connecticut gave 82,433 a permanent place in her noble schools.

In South Carolina, there are but 129,350 free persons over twenty years of age ; and, of these, 16,564 are unable to read the word Heaven. So, in all that great and Democratic State, there are only 112,786 persons over twenty who know their A B C's ; while in Connecticut there are 213,662 persons over twenty ; and, of all that number, only 5,306 are illiterate, and of them 4,013 are foreigners. But, of all the 16,564 *ignoramuses* of South Carolina, only 104 were born out of that State !

Out of 365,026 persons over twenty, South Carolina has only 112,786 who can read their primer ; while, out of 213,662, Connecticut has 208,356 who can read and write. South Carolina can boast more than 250,000 native adults who cannot write or read the name of their God,— a noble army of martyrs, a cloud of witnesses to its peculiar institution ; while poor Connecticut has only 1,293 native adults unable to read their Holy Bible.

Such is the effect of slavery and freedom on *education* in the old States. The Southern politician was right : “ Free society is a failure ! ”

2. Now compare two new States of about the same age. Arkansas was admitted into the Union in 1836, Michigan in 1837.

Arkansas contains 52,198 square miles, and 209,807 inhabitants, of whom 151,746 are free, and 58,161 are slaves. Michigan contains 56,243 square miles, and was entered



for settlement later than her sister, but contains 397,654 persons, all free.

In Arkansas, the land is valued at \$5.88 the acre; and, in Michigan, at \$11.83. The Slave State has 781,531 acres of improved land; and Michigan, 1,929,110. The farms of Arkansas are worth \$15,265,245; and those of Michigan, \$51,872,446. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the new States.

Michigan had (in 1855) 699 miles of railroad, which had cost \$19,000,000; Arkansas had paid nothing for railroads. The total valuation of Arkansas, in 1850, was \$39,871,025: the value of the slaves, \$23,264,400, was included. Deducting that, there remains but \$16,576,625, as the entire worth of Arkansas; while Michigan has property to the amount of \$59,787,255. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of property* in the new States.

In 1850, Arkansas had 115,023 children under twenty, whereof 11,050 were in schools, academies, or colleges; while Michigan had 211,969, of whom 112,382 were at school, academy, or college. Or, to omit the colored population, Arkansas had 97,402 white persons under twenty, and only 11,050 attending school; while, of 210,831 whites of that age in Michigan, 112,175 were at school or college. Last year, Michigan had 132,234 scholars in her public common schools. In 1850, Arkansas contained 64,787 whites over twenty,—but 16,935 of these were unable to read and write; while, out of 184,240 of that age in Michigan, only 8,281 were thus ignorant,—of these, 3,009 were foreigners; while, of the 16,935 illiterate persons of Arkansas, only 37 were born out of that State. The Slave State had only 47,852 persons over twenty who could read a word; while the free State had 175,959. Michigan had 107,943 volumes in “libraries other than private,” and Arkansas 420 volumes. Thus slavery and freedom affect *the education of the people* in the new States.

Now, see the effect of slavery and freedom on Property and Education in their respective Neighborhoods. I take examples from the States of Missouri and Virginia, kindly furnished by an ingenious and noble-hearted man.

1. In the twelve counties of Missouri which border on slaveholding Arkansas, there are 20,982 free white persons, occupying 75,360 acres of improved land; valued at \$13 an acre, or \$989,932; while in the ten counties of Missouri bordering on Iowa, a free State, though less attractive in soil and situation, there are 26,890 free white persons, with 123,030 acres of improved land, worth \$19 an acre, or \$2,379,765. Thus the *neighborhood of slavery retards the development of property.*

In those ten Northern counties bordering on freedom, there were 2,329 scholars in the public schools; while in the twelve Southern, bordering on Arkansas, there were only 339. Thus *the neighborhood of slavery affects the development of education.*

2. Compare the Northern with the Southern counties of Virginia, and you find the same results. Monongahela and Preston Counties, in Virginia, bordering on free Pennsylvania, contain 122,444 acres of improved land, valued at \$21 an acre, or \$2,784,137 in all; are occupied by 24,095 persons, whereof 263 only are slaves; and there are 1,747 children in the public schools: while the corresponding counties of Patrick and Henry, touching on North Carolina, contain but 99,731 acres of improved land, worth only \$15 an acre, or \$1,554,841 in all; are occupied by 18,481 inhabitants, 5,664 of them slaves; and have only 961 children at school. But cross the borders, and note the change: the adjacent counties of North Carolina, Rockingham and Stokes, contain 103,784 acres of improved land, worth \$14 an acre, or \$1,517,520; 23,701 persons, of whom 7,122 are slaves; and have only 2,050 pupils at school or college: while Fayette and Green Counties, in Pennsylvania, adja-

cent to the part of Virginia above spoken of, contain 297,005 acres of improved land, valued at \$49 an acre, or \$7,618,919; 61,248 persons, all free; and 12,998 pupils at the common schools.

The South has numerous natural advantages over the North, — a better soil, a more genial climate, the privilege of producing those tropical plants now deemed indispensable to civilization. Of \$193,000,000 of exports last year, \$93,000,000 were of Southern cotton and tobacco. Yet such is her foolish and wicked system, that, while the North continually increases in riches, the South becomes continually poorer and poorer in comparison. Boston alone could buy up two States like South Carolina, and still have thirteen millions of dollars to spare. Three hundred years ago, Spain monopolized this continent; she exploited Mexico, Peru, the islands of the Gulf; all the gold of the New World came to her hand. Where is it now? Spain is poorer than Italy. Is here no lesson for South Carolina and Virginia?

In civilized society, there must be an Organization of Things and of Persons, of Labor and of Government; and so slavery is to be looked at, not only in its economical relations, as affecting Labor and Wealth, power over matter, but also in its Political Relations, as affecting Government, which is power over men.

There are 350,000 slaveholders in the United States, with their families, making a population of 1,750,000 persons. Now, slavery is a political institution which puts the government of all the people of the Slave States into the hands of those few men: the majority are the servants of this minority.

1. The 350,000 slaveholders control the 3,250,000 Slaves;

owning their bodies, and, by direct legislation, *purposely preventing their development.*

2. They control the 4,750,000 Non-slaveholders, cutting them off from their share of government, and hindering them alike in their labor and their education, and *purposely preventing their development.*

3. They control the Federal Politics, and thereby affect the organization of things and persons, of labor and government, throughout the whole nation, and *purposely prevent the development of the whole people.*

In all these three forms of political action, they have selfishly sought their own immediate interest, and wrought to the lasting damage of the slaves, the non-slaveholders, and the whole people. But neither the slaves nor the non-slaveholders have made any powerful opposition to this injury: the chief hostility has been shown by the North, or rather by the few persons therein who either had mind enough to see this manifold mischief clearly, or else such moral and religious instinct as made them at once revolt from this wickedness. But, ever since the Declaration of Independence, there has been a strife, open or hidden, between the South and this portion of the Northern people; and though the battle has been often joined, yet, since 1788, the North has been beaten in every conflict, pitched battle or skirmish, until last January; then, after much fighting, the House of Representatives chose for Speaker a man hostile to slavery. Always before, the South conquered the North; that is, the minority conquered the majority. The party with the smallest numbers, the least money, the meanest intelligence, the wickedest cause, yet beat the larger, richer, more intelligent party, which had also justice on its side. There is now no time to explain this political paradox.

**Between 1787 and 1851, the Regressive Power, slavery,**

took nine great steps towards absolute rule over the United States. These I have spoken of before.\* It now lifts its foot to take a tenth step, — to stamp bondage on all the Territories of this Union, and then organize them into Slave States. Look at the facts.

We have now one million four hundred thousand square miles of territory not organized into States (1,400,934). Of this, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Utah make nine hundred and twenty-six thousand (926,857). Now, THE SOUTH AIMS TO MAKE IT ALL SLAVE TERRITORY, to deliver it over to this regressive force, and establish therein such institutions that a few men shall at first own all the land; next own the bulk of the working people; and, thirdly, shall control the rest of the whites; then themselves monopolize education, and yet get very little of it; repress freedom of speech, and enact laws for the advantage of the vulgarest of all oligarchies, — a band of men-stealers.

Let me suppose that there is no immediate danger that slavery will go to Oregon or Washington Territory, — rather a gratuitous admission: there are still NINE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND SQUARE MILES of land to plant it on; that is, about one-third of all the country which the United States own! The South is endeavoring to establish it there. Within three years, the great battle is to be fought; for, before the 4th of March, 1859, all that territory of fourteen hundred thousand square miles will be either free territory or else slave territory.

The battle is first for Kansas. Shall it be free, as the majority of its own inhabitants have voted; or slave, as the Federal Government and the Slave Power — the general regressive force of America — have determined by violence to make it? This is the question, *Shall the nine hundred*

\* Additional Speeches, Vol. I. p. 342, et seq.

*and twenty-six thousand miles of territory belong to three hundred and fifty thousand Slaveholders, or to the whole People of the United States?* This is a question which directly concerns the Material Interest of every working-man in the nation, and especially every Northern Working-man. Before the 1st of January, 1858, perhaps before next January, Kansas, with its one hundred and fourteen thousand seven hundred and ninety square miles, will be a Free State or a Slave State. See what follows, immediately or ultimately, if we let the slaveholders have their way, and make KANSAS A SLAVE STATE.

Look, first, at the effect on the Welfare and Progress of Individuals.

1. A Privileged Class, an oligarchy of slaveholders, will be founded there, such as exists in the present Slave States. They will own all the land, almost all the laborers; will make laws, for the advantage of the slaveholder, against the interest of the slave and the non-slaveholder. That is the effect on the Southern man.

2. Next see the effect on the Working-men of the North who emigrate to that quarter. They must go as slaveholders or as non-slaveholders.

Some will go as Slaveholders, such as take a South-Side view of human wickedness in general. You know what the effect will be on them. Compare the condition, the intellectual and moral character, of New-England men who have settled in Georgia, and become slaveholders, with others of the same families — their brothers and cousins — who have remained at home, and engaged in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

But not many Northern men will go there and become Slaveholders. Some will go as Non-slaveholders; and you will see under what disadvantage they must labor.

1. They must live by their work, and in a place where

industry is not honored, as in Connecticut, but is despised, as in South Carolina and Arkansas. The working white man must stand on a level with the slave. He belongs to a despised caste. He will have but little self-respect, and soon will sink down to the character and condition of the Poor-whites in the old Slave States. A scientific friend of mine, who travels extensively in both hemispheres, says that he has not found the Caucasian people anywhere so degraded as in Tennessee and the Carolinas.

2. Next, there will be no miscellaneous mechanical industry, as in New England and all the Free States. Agriculture will be the chief business, almost the only business; and that will be confined to the great staples, — corn, wheat, rice, tobacco, cotton: the aim will be only to produce the raw material. Agriculture will be poor; land will be low in price, and continually getting run out by unskilful culture. The slave's foot burns the soil and spoils the land; that is the master's fault. Twenty years hence, land will not be worth \$16 an acre, as in sterile New Hampshire, but \$4, as in fertile Georgia. There will be no rapid development of wealth; and, as the Northern man values riches, I think he should look to this, and see that the land is not taken from under his foot, and the power of creating wealth from his head and hand.

3. Then there will be no good and abundant roads, as in New England, but only a few, as in Carolina and Virginia, and those miserably poor. In Kansas, twenty years hence, there will not be 1,964 miles of railroad, as in Illinois, but 231 miles, as in Missouri.

4. There will be no abundance of beneficent free schools, as in New England, but a few, and of the worst sort. Education will be the monopoly of the rich, who will not get much thereof. Laws will forbid the education of the slave, and discourage the culture of the mass of the people.

5. There will be no lyceums, no courses of lectures; but, in their place, there will be horse-races, occasionally the lynching of an Abolitionist, or the burning of a black man at a slow fire! Yet, now and then, a Northern man will be invited thither by the slaveholders; some unapostolical fisherman will take the majestic memory of Washington, disembowel it of all its most generous humanity, skilfully arrange it as bait; and then, with bob and sinker, hook and line, this "political Micawber," "looking for something to turn up," will go angling along the shores, praying for at least a Presidential bite, and possibly obtain a Conventional nibble.

6. There will be no "libraries other than private," with their one hundred and eight thousand volumes, as in Michigan; only four hundred and twenty volumes, as in Arkansas. But a noble army of ignoramuses, twenty-five men out of each hundred adult white men, will attest the value of the "peculiar institution."

7. There will be no multiplicity of valuable newspapers, with an annual circulation of three million three hundred and twenty-four thousand copies, as in Michigan; but a few political journals, scattering three hundred and seventy-seven thousand dingy sheets, as in Arkansas.

8. There will be no abundant and convenient meeting-houses, as in the North; not one hundred and twenty thousand comfortable pew-seats in neat and decorous churches, as in Michigan; but only sixty thousand benches in barns and log-huts, as in Arkansas. No army of well-educated ministers will help instruct and moralize the community; but ignorant ranters or calculating hypocrites will stalk through the Christian Year, perverting the Bible to a Fugitive Slave Bill, and denying the Higher Law which God writes in Man.

9. There will be no laws favoring all men; but statutes putting the neck of Labor into the claws of Capital, by which the strong will crush the weak, and enslave the



feeblest of all ; constitutions like those of South Carolina, which provide that nobody shall sit in the Popular House of the Legislature, unless, in his own right, he own "ten negro slaves."

10. There will be no universal suffrage, as in Massachusetts ; but a man's political rights will be determined by the color of his skin, and the amount of his estate. One permanent class will monopolize government, money, education, honor, and ease ; the other permanent class will be forced to bondage, ignorance, poverty, and shame. This is the prospect which the Northern man will find before him, if slavery prevails in the new Territory.

11. That is not all : his property and person will not be safe, as in Michigan ; border-ruffians will permanently have gone over the border, and a new Arkansas be established in Kansas.

Under such circumstances, Northern men will not go there ; and so KANSAS, AND THEN ALL THE OTHER TERRITORY, IS STOLEN FROM THE NORTH, AS EFFECTUALLY AS IF CEDED TO RUSSIA OR ANNEXED TO THE SPANISH DOMAIN. Yes, more completely lost : for, if it did belong to Spain, we might reclaim it by *filibustering* ; and the American Government would not disturb, but help us.

Then, if a Northern man wishes to migrate, he has only the poorer land of Washington and Oregon before him, and is shut out from the most valuable territory of the United States.

If the city government of Boston were, next month, to establish a piggery on Boston Common, with fifty thousand swine, and set up an immense slaughter-house of the savagest and filthiest character in the Granary Burying-ground, on Copp's Hill, and in each of the public squares ; were to give all vacant land to the gamblers, thieves, pimps, kidnappers, and murderers, — they would not commit a worse injustice, and they would not do a greater

proportional damage to the real estate, and more mischief to the health of the inhabitants of the city, than the American Government would do the working people of the South and North by creating this nuisance of slavery on the free soil of Kansas.

So much for the effect of this on the individual interests of the working people of America. I have only taken the lowest possible view of the subject.

See its effects on American Politics, — on the Welfare and Progress of the Nation. If Kansas is made a Slave State, we shall either keep united, or else dissolve the Union and separate.

I. Suppose we keep united: what follows?

First, New Mexico will be a Slave State, then Utah.

California is only half for freedom now, and will soon split into two; Lower California will be slave.

Then Texas will peel off into new States; Western Texas will soon be made a new Slave State.

The Mesilla Valley, bigger than Virginia, will be a slave Territory.

Then we shall dismember Mexico, — make slave territory there.

We shall *re-annex* the Mosquito Territory: the Government wants it, and lets all manner of filibusters go there now.

We shall seize Cuba, to make that soil red with the white man's blood, which is now black with African bondage.

St. Domingo must next fall a prey to American lust for land.

Then we shall carry out the Fugitive Slave Bill in the North as never before. In 1836, Mr. Curtis asked the Supreme Court of Massachusetts to decree that a slaveholder from Louisiana might take his bondman to Boston as a slave, hold him as a slave, sell him as a slave, or, as a slave, carry him back. In 1855, Mr. Kane decreed that a slave-

holder might bring his slave into a free State, and keep him there as long as he would *in transitu*. Then we must have laws to enforce these demands : Congress will *legislate*, and the Supreme Court will *rule* to put slavery into every Northern State. In the beginning of June, 1854, this same Mr. Curtis, then become a Judge, gave a "charge," in which he made it appear, that to make a speech in Faneuil Hall against kidnapping was a "misdemeanor." Yes, if a Massachusetts minister sees his parishioners kidnapped, and makes a speech in Faneuil Hall against that iniquity, and tells the people that they are slaves of Southern masters, Mr. Justice Curtis says that that man has committed a crime, to be punished by imprisonment for twelve months, and a fine of three hundred dollars! By and by, that charge will be "good common law:" *all* lawyers will be slave-hunters; *all* judges of the Scroggs family; *all* court-houses girt with chains; *all* the newspapers administration and Satanic; *all* the Trinitarian Doctors of Divinity will take a South-Side view of wickedness in high places; *all* the Nothingarian Doctors of Divinity will send back their mothers — for a consideration! And then what becomes of Freedom of Speech, Freedom to worship God? what of Unalienable Rights to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness? They all perish; and the mocking of tyrants rings round the land: "We meant to subdue you," scoffs one; "I said, 'We will crush out Humanity,'" laughs forth another. Where, then, is America? It goes where Korah and Dathan and Abiram are said to have gone long ago. The earth will open her mouth and swallow us up; the Justice of God will visit us, — our crime greater than that of Sodom and Gomorrah, — for we shall have committed High Treason against the dearest Rights of Man! He will rain on us worse than fire and brimstone; our name shall rot in the Dead Sea of infamy, and the curses of mankind hang over our memory for ever and ever, world without end!

II. Suppose we separate. The North may at length feel some little manhood; become angry at this continual insult, and be roused by fear of actual ruin; calculate the value of the Union, and find it not worth while any longer to be tied to this offensive partner. See what may follow in the attempt at dissolution. Look at the Comparative Military Power — the men and money — of the North and South.

Omitting California and the Territories, the North has fifteen million freemen, or three million men able to do military duty; and also thirty-two hundred million dollars (\$3,200,000,000); while the South has fifteen hundred million dollars (\$1,500,000,000), six million five hundred thousand freemen, and three million five hundred thousand slaves. But the latter are a negative quantity to be subtracted from the whole. So the effective population is three millions, or six hundred thousand men able to bear arms. Such is the comparative personal and material force of the two. I will not speak of the odds in the Quality of Northern and Southern men, looking now only at the obvious quantitative difference.

The contest could not be doubtful or long. The North could dictate the terms of separation, and would probably take two-thirds of the naval and military property of the nation, and all of the Territories. Then would come the question, Where shall be the line of demarcation between Freedom and Slavery? I think the North might fix the Potomac and Ohio as the Northern, and the Mississippi as the Western, limit of Slavery. Depend upon it, we shall not leave more land than these boundaries indicate, to the cause of bondage. Then the Ten Barbary States of America might found a new Empire, with Despotism for their Central Idea; take the name of Braggadocia, Servilia, Violentia, Thrasonia, or, in plainer Saxon title, Bullydom; and become as famous in future history as the "Five Cities

of the Plain" were in the past. But would Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, consent to be border States, with no Fugitive Slave Bill to fetter their bondmen?

I do not propose disunion — at present. I would never leave the black men in bondage, or the whites subject to the slaveholding Oligarchy which rules them. The Constitution itself guarantees "a Republican form of Government" to each State in the Union: no Slave State has had it yet. Perhaps the North will one day respect the other half of "the compromises of the Constitution." Certainly there must be National Unity of Idea, either of Freedom or of Slavery, or else we separate before long.

This Regressive Force, which retards the Progress and diminishes the Welfare of the South, and yet controls the Politics of America, is determined to conquer the Progressive Force, to put liberty down, to spread bondage over all the North, to organize it in all the wild land of the continent. The ablest champions of this iniquity are Northern men. The same North which bore Seward and Giddings, Sumner and Hale, not to mention others equally able, is mother also to Cushing and Douglas; and one of these would "crush out" all opposition to slavery, all love of welfare and progress; the other is reported to have said to the North, in the Senate, "We mean to subdue you." Mark the words, — "WE MEAN TO SUBDUCE YOU!" That is the aim of the Administration, to make Progress, Regress; Welfare, Illfare; to make Democracy and Christianity, Despotism and Anti-Christianity; that is the purpose of the Oligarchy of Slaveholders, to be executed with those triple Northern tools already named, — *base* men, *mean* men, *ignorant* men.

The first great Measure is to put slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, into four hundred and fifty thousand six hundred and eighty miles of wild land.

To accomplish that, five steps were necessary. Here they are:—

I. The first was to pass a Proslavery Act to organize the Kansas and Nebraska territory. That accomplished two things:—

1. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, and laid the territory open to the slaveholder.

2. It established Squatter Sovereignty, and allowed the settlers to make laws for slavery or freedom, as they saw fit. The South intended that it should be a Slave State.

You know how this first step was taken in 1854; what was done by Congress, by the President; you have not forgotten the conduct of Mr. Douglas, of Illinois. Massachusetts yet remembers the behavior of Mr. Everett. It is rather difficult to find all the facts concerning this Kansas business; lies have been woven over the whole matter, and I know of no transaction in human history which has been covered up with such abundant lying, from the death of Ananias and Sapphira down to the first nomination of Governor Gardiner. Still the main facts appear through this garment of lies.

II. The second step was to give the new Territory a Slave Government, which would take pains to organize slavery into the land, and freedom out of it. So the Executive appointed persons supposed to be competent for that work, and, amongst others, Mr. Reeder, of Easton, in Pennsylvania, who was thought to be fit for that business. But it turned out otherwise: he became conscientious, and refused to execute the infamous and unlawful commands of the Executive. Finding it was so, the President — I have it on good authority — tried to bribe him to resign, offering him the highest office then vacant, — the ministry to China. Governor Reeder refused the bribe, and then was discharged from his office on the pretence of some pecuniary unfaithfulness. Mr. Shannon was thrust into his place, for which

he seems to the manner born; for — I have this also on good authority — his habitual drunkenness seems to be one of the smallest of his public vices.

III. The third step was to establish Slavery by Squatter Sovereignty. For this, two things were indispensable: (1) To elect a Legislature friendly to Slavery; and (2) To get laws made by that Legislature to secure the desired end.

1. This must be done by actual settlers; and then, for the first time in this career of wickedness, a difficulty was found. The People were to be consulted; and no *coup d'état* of the Government could do the work. There was an unexpected difficulty; for, soon as Kansas was open, great bodies went there from the North to settle and secure it to freedom. It soon became plain that they were numerous enough to bring squatter sovereignty itself over to the side of humanity, and, by their votes, exclude bondage for ever. That must be prevented by the regressive force. Mr. Atchinson, Mr. Stringfellow, and others were appointed to take the matter in hand. Citizens of Missouri organized themselves into companies, and in military order, with pistols and bowie-knives, and in one instance with cannon, went over the border into Kansas to determine the elections by excluding the legal voters, and themselves casting the ballot. In ten months, they made four general invasions of Kansas, if I am rightly informed; namely, (1.) On the 29th of July, 1854; (2.) 29th November, 1854; (3.) 30th March, 1855; and (4.) 22d May, 1855. The third was the *great invasion*, made to elect the legislators who were to enact the territorial laws. It appears that four thousand men marched bodily from Missouri to Kansas, some of them penetrating two hundred miles into the interior, and delivered their votes, electing men who would put slavery into the land. The fourth was a smaller and local invasion, to fill vacancies in the Legislature.

I cannot dwell on these things, nor stop to speak of the violence and murder repeatedly committed by these border ruffians, under the eyes, and with the consent, and by the encouragement, of the American Executive. You can read those things in the newspapers, at least in the "New-York Tribune" and "Evening Post." But, suffice it to say, the Legislature thus chosen was wholly illegal. If Jersey City were to order a municipal election, and New York were to go there, and choose Aldermen and Common Councilmen, and the new officers were to act in that capacity, we should have a parallel of what took place in Kansas.

Thus the Slave Power which controls the Federal Government secured the first requisite, — a Slave Legislature.

2. They must next proceed to make the appropriate laws. The Legislature came together on the 2d July, 1855, at the place legally fixed by Governor Reeder: they passed an illegal act, fixing the seat of Government at Shawneetown, on the borders of Missouri, and adjourned thither. The Governor vetoed the act, and repudiated the Legislature, illegally chosen at first, illegally acting afterwards. But they continued in session there from July 15 to Aug. 31, and made a huge statute-book of more than a thousand great pages. It contains substantially the laws of Missouri; but, in some instances, they were made worse. Take this for example:—

"No person who shall have been convicted of any violation of any of the provisions of an act of Congress" (the Fugitive Slave Bills of 1793 and 1850), "whether such conviction was by criminal proceeding or by civil action, in any courts of the United States, or of any State or Territory, shall be entitled to vote at any election, or to hold any office in this Territory." "If any person offering to vote shall be challenged and required to take an oath or affirmation that he will sustain the provisions of the above-recited acts of Congress" (the Fugitive Slave Bills), "and shall refuse to take such oath or affirmation, the vote of such person shall be rejected." — Ch. lxxvi. § 11, p. 332.



There is no similar provision depriving a man of his vote if he violate any other statute: but a deed of common humanity disfranchises a man for ever; nay, performing an act of kindness to a brother perpetually deprives a man of his share in the government!

Look at this statute: —

“Every free person who shall aid . . . in any rebellion or insurrection of slaves, . . . or do any overt act in furtherance of such rebellion, . . . shall suffer death.”

“If any person shall . . . induce any slaves to rebel, . . . or shall . . . circulate . . . any book . . . or circular for the purpose of exciting insurrection . . . on the part of the slaves, such person shall . . . suffer death.”

“If any person shall aid . . . in enticing . . . any slave . . . to effect the freedom of such slave, . . . he shall . . . suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.”  
— Ch. cli. § 2, 4, 5.

Look at this: —

SECT. 11. — “If any person print, write, introduce into, publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinions, sentiments, doctrines, advice, or innuendo, calculated to promote a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, *or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters*, or to resist their authority, *he shall be* guilty of a felony, and be *punished by imprisonment and hard labor for a term not less than five years.*”

SECT. 12. — “If any free person, by speaking or by writing, *assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such*

person *shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.*"

But stealing a free child under twelve is punished with imprisonment for not more than five years, or confinement in the county jail not less than six months, or a fine of \$500 (Ch. xlviii. Sect. 43).

CH. xv. SECT. 13. — "No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecutions for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

That law excludes the New Testament and the Old Testament, as well as the Declaration of Independence, and the works of Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison: it shuts humanity from the jury-box.

IV. The next step was to get a Proslavery Delegate from Kansas into the House of Representatives at Washington. So, on the 1st of October, 1855, the day appointed by the Border-Ruffian Legislature to elect a delegate, a fifth invasion was made by outsiders from Missouri, who, as before, took possession of the polls, and chose Hon. J. W. Whitfield to that office. Mr. Shannon, the new and appropriate Governor of the Territory, gave him a certificate of lawful election. He is now at Washington in that capacity. But the House of Representatives has the matter under advisement; a committee has gone to Kansas to investigate the matter; and the country waits, anxious for the results.

V. The only remaining step is to enforce their Slave law, and then Kansas becomes a Slave State. But this is a difficult matter: for the people of the Territory, indignant at this invasion of their rights, long since repudiated the Legislature of ruffians; held a convention at Topeka; formed a constitution, which was submitted to the people, and accepted by them. They have chosen their own Legis-

lature, State officers, senators, and representatives, and applied for admission into the Union as a Free State. But men, who have already five times invaded the Territory, threaten to go there again, and enforce the laws which they have already made.

I need only refer to the conduct of the President, and his masters in the cabinet, and say that he has been uniformly on the side of this illegal violence. You remember his Message last winter, his Proclamation at a later day, his conduct all the time. He encourages the violence of these tools of the Slave Power, who have sought to tread the people down. Hence it becomes indispensable for the Northern emigrants to take arms. It is instructive to see the old Puritan spirit coming out in the sons of the North, even those who went on theological errands. Excepting the Quakers, the Unitarians are the most unmilitary of sects; in Boston, their most conspicuous ministers have been — some of them still are — notorious supporters of the worst iniquities of American slavery. Surely you will not forget the ecclesiastical defences of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the apologies for kidnapping. But a noble-hearted Unitarian minister, Rev. Mr. Nute, “felt drawn to Kansas.” Of course he carried his Bible: he knew it also by heart. His friends gave him a “repeating rifle” and a “revolver.” These also “felt drawn to Kansas.” This “minister at large” — very much at large, too, his nearest denominational brother, on one side five hundred miles off, on the other fifteen hundred — trusts in God, and keeps his powder dry. Listen to this, written Dec. 3, 1855: —

“I have just been summoned to be in the village *with my repeating rifle*. I shall go, and use my utmost efforts to prevent bloodshed. But if it comes to a fight, in which we shall be forced to defend our homes and lives against the assault of these border savages (and, by the way, the Indians are being enlisted on both sides), *I shall do my best to keep them off.*”

On the 10th, he writes :—

“Our citizens have been shot at, *and, in two instances, murdered*; our houses invaded; hay-ricks burnt; corn and other provisions plundered; cattle driven off; all communication cut off between us and the States; wagons on the way to us with provisions stopped and plundered, and the drivers taken prisoners; and we in hourly expectation of an attack. *Nearly every man has been in arms in the village.* Fortifications have been thrown up by incessant labor night and day. The sound of the drum, and the tramp of armed men, resounded through our streets; *families fleeing with their household goods for safety.* Day before yesterday, the report of cannon was heard at our house from the direction of Lecompton. Last Thursday, one of our neighbors, — one of the most peaceable and excellent of men, from Ohio, — on his way home, was set upon by a gang of twelve men on horseback, and shot down. Several of the ruffians pursued him some distance after he was shot; and one was seen to push him from his horse, and heard to shout to his companions that he was dead. A neighbor reached him just before he breathed his last. I was present when his family came in to see the corpse, for the first time, at the Free-State Hotel, — a wife, a sister, a brother, and an aged mother. It was the most exciting and the most distressing scene that I ever witnessed. Hundreds of our men were in tears, as the shrieks and groans of the bereaved women were heard all over the building, now used for military barracks. Over eight hundred men are gathered under arms at Lawrence. As yet, no act of violence has been perpetrated by those on our side; *no blood of retaliation stains our hands. We stand, and are ready to act, purely in the defence of our homes and lives. I am enrolled in the cavalry, though I have not yet appeared in the ranks; but, should there be an attack, I SHALL BE THERE.* I have had some hesitation about the propriety of this course; but some one has said, ‘In questions of duty, the first thought is generally the right one.’ On that principle, I find strong justification. *I could feel no self-respect until I had offered my services.*

“Day before yesterday, we received the timely re-enforcement of a twelve-pound howitzer, with ammunition therefor, including grape and canister, with forty bomb-shells. It was sent from New

York (made at Chicopee). By a deed of successful daring and cunning, it was brought through the country invested by the enemy, a distance of fifty miles, from Kansas City, by an unfrequented route, boxed up as merchandise.

“*Sunday Morning*, Dec. 9. — The Governor has pledged himself to do all he can to make peace; and we are told that the invaders are beginning to retreat: but we know not what to believe. Our men are to be kept under arms for twenty-four hours longer, at least. *No religious meetings for the last three weeks.* No work done, of course. *Some of the logs to be sawed for our church were pressed into service to build a fort*, of which we have no less than five, and of no mean dimensions or strength. For a time, it seemed probable that the *foundation-stones for the church would be wet by the blood of the martyrs for Liberty.* They were piled up on the ground, and, with the earth thrown out of the excavation, made quite a fort on the hillside just outside of the line of intrenchments.”

That is the report of a Unitarian missionary. You know what the Trinitarians have done: the conduct of that valiant man, Henry Ward Beecher, — the most powerful and popular minister in the United States, — and his “Plymouth Church,” and other “religious bodies” at New Haven and elsewhere, need not be spoken of.

One effect of this warlike spirit is curious: “pious” newspapers are very much troubled at the talk of rifles, pistols, and cannon. In 1847, they rated me roundly for preaching against the Mexican war, — a war for plundering a feeble nation, that we might blacken her soil with slavery: it was “desecrating the Sabbath.” They liked the Sims brigade, the Burns division; they did homage to the cannon which men-stealers loaded in Boston, therewith to shoot the friends of humanity on the graves of Hancock and Adams! Now, the *mean* men and the *base* men are brought over to “peace principles:” a rifle is “not of the Lord;” a cannon is “a carnal weapon;” a sword is “of the Devil.” All the South thinks gunpowder is “unChris-

tian." Such a "change of heart" has not been heard of since the conversion of St. Ananias and Sapphira.

I have no fondness for fighting; not the average "instinct of destruction." I should suffer a great while before I struck a blow. But there are times when I would take down the dreadful weapon of war: this is one of them for the men in Kansas.

It is not easy for the border ruffians alone to put down Kansas; not possible for them to break up the popular organization, destroy the new Constitution, and hang the officers. Will the President send the United-States soldiers to do this? No doubt his heart is good enough for that work. We remember what he did with United-States soldiers at Boston, in 1854: the only service they ever rendered in that town for more than forty years was to kidnap Anthony Burns. But the President falters: there is a North; all last Winter there was a North, — Northern ice in the Mississippi; Banks, of the North, at Washington, in the Speaker's chair.

Kansas and Nebraska are "the Children in the Wood." They had a fair inheritance; but the parents, dying, left them to a guardian uncle, — the President. I heard the Northern mother say to him, —

"You must be father and mother both,  
And uncle, all in one."

"You are the man must bring our babes  
To wealth or misery.

And, if you keep them carefully,  
Then God will you reward;  
But, if you otherwise should deal,  
*God will your deeds regard.*"

It is still the old story: the Executive uncle promises well enough; yet —

“He had not kept these pretty babes  
 But twelve months and a day,  
 Before he *did* devise  
 To make them both away.

He bargained with two ruffians strong,  
 [That is, *Straightwhig* and *Democrat*,]  
 Which were of furious mood,  
 That they should take these children young,  
 And *slay them in a wood*.”

It is still the old story. One of the ruffians kills the other; but, in this case, Democrat, the strong ruffian, killed Straightwhig, — a weak ruffian, who had no “backbone,” — and now seeks to kill the babes. He is not content to let them starve, —

“Their pretty lips with blackberries  
 So all besmeared and dyed;” —

he “*would make them both away*.” But that is not quite so easy. Kansas, the elder, turns out a very male child, a thrifty boy: *he will not die*; he refuses to be killed, but, with such weapons as he has, shows what blood he came of. His relations hear of the matter, and make a noise about it. The uncle becomes the town-talk. Even the ghost of Straightwhig is disquieted, and “walks” in obscure places, by graveyards, “haunting” some houses. Nay, the Northern Mother rises from the grave: perhaps the Northern Father is not dead, but only sleeping, like Barbarossa in that other fable, with his Sharp’s rifle for a pillow. Who knows but he, too, will “rise,” and execute his own Will? The history may yet end after the old sort: —

“*And now the heavy wrath of God  
 Upon the Uncle fell;  
 Yea, fearful fiends did haunt his house;  
 His conscience felt a hell.*

His barns were fired, his goods consumed,  
 His lands were barren made;  
*Conventions failed to nominate;  
 No office with him staid.*”

Kansas applies for admission as a Free State, with a Constitution made in due form and by the people. The Regressive Force is determined that she shall be a Slave State; and so all the 926,000 miles of territory become the spoil of the slaveholder. See the state of things.

The majority of the Senate is proslavery, of the Satanic Democracy. For once, the House inclines the other way, — leans towards freedom. A bill for making Kansas a Slave State will pass the Senate; will be resisted in the House: then comes the tug of war. The North has a majority in the House, but is divided. If all will unite, they make Kansas a Free State before the Fourth of next July. They can force the Administration to this act of justice, simply by refusing to vote a dollar of money until Kansas is free. If the House will determine on that course, the two Executives — the Presidential and the Senatorial — will soon come to terms. This is no new expedient: it was often enough resorted to by our Fathers in Old England, under the Tudors and Stuarts; nay, even the Dutch used it against Philip II.

But perhaps there is not virtue enough in the House to do this; then let the State Legislatures which are now in session send instructions, the People — who are always in session — petitions, to that effect.

But perhaps the People themselves are not quite ready for this measure; and the House and Senate cannot agree. Then the question goes over to the next Presidential election, where it will be the most important element. There will be three candidates, perhaps four; for the Straight Whigs may put up some invertebrate politician, hoping to catch whatever shall “turn up.” It is possible there shall be no choice by the people; then the election goes to the present House of Representatives, where the choice is by States. In either case, if the matter be managed well, the Progressive Force of America may get into the Presidential



chair. I mean to say, we can choose an *Antislavery President next Autumn*, — some one who loves man and God, not merely money, loaves and fishes, — who will counsel and work for the present Welfare and future Progress of America, and so promote that Christianity and Democracy spoken of before. I shall not pretend to say who the man is: it must be some one who reverences JUSTICE, — the Higher Law of God. He must be a strong man, a just man, a man *sure for the Right*. Let there be no humbug this time, no doubtful man.

If we once put an Antislavery man, never so moderate, into the Presidency, then see what follows immediately or at length: —

1. The Executive holds 40,000 offices in his right hand, and 70,000,000 annual dollars in his left hand: both will be dispensed so as to promote the welfare and the prosperity of the people. All the great offices, executive, judicial, diplomatic, commercial, will be controlled by the Progressive Force; the Administration will be celestial-democratic, not Satanic merely, and seek by natural justice to organize things and persons so that all may have a share in Labor and Government. Then, when Freedom has money and office to bestow, she will become respectable in the South, where noble men, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, will come out of their hiding-places to bless their land which others have cursed so heavily and so long. There are anti-slavery elements at the South: "One swallow makes no summer;" but one Presidential summer of freedom will bring many swallows out from their wintry sleep, fabulous or real. Nay, the *ignorant* men of the North will be instructed; her *mean* men will be attracted by the smell of dinner; and her *base* men, left alone in their rot, will engage in other crime, but not in kidnapping men.

2. Kansas becomes a Free State before the 1st of January,

1858. Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Utah, New Mexico, all will be Free States. When Texas sends down a pendulous branch, which takes independent root, a tree of freedom will grow up therefrom. Western Texas will ere long be a Free State; she is half ready now. Freedom will be organized in the Mesilla Valley. If we acquire new territory from Mexico, it will be honestly got, and Democracy and Christianity spread thither. If Central America, Nicaragua, or other new soil, become ours, it will be all consecrated to Freedom, and the Unalienable Rights of man. Slavery will be abolished in the District of Columbia.

3. There will be no more national attempts to destroy Freedom in the North, but continual efforts to restrict Slavery. The democratic parts of the Constitution, long left a dead letter therein, will be developed, and the despotic clauses, exceptionable there, and clearly hostile to its purpose and its spirit, will be overruled, and forced out of sight, like odious features of the British Common Law. There will be a Pacific Railroad, perhaps more than one; and national attempts will be made to develop the national resources of the Continent by free labor. The South will share with the North in this better organization of Things and Persons, this development of Industry and Education.

4. And what will be the future of Kansas? Her 114,000 square miles will soon fill up with educated and industrious men, each sharing the Labor and the Government of society, helping forward the Welfare and the Progress of all, aiding the organization of Christianity and Democracy. What a development there will be of agriculture, mining, manufactures, commerce! What farms and shops! What canals and railroads! What schools, newspapers, libraries, meeting-houses! Yes, what families of rich, educated, happy, and religious men and women! In the year 1900, there will be 2,000,000 men in Kansas, with cities like Providence, Worcester, perhaps like Chicago and Cincin-

nati. She will have more miles of railroad than Maryland, Virginia, and both the Carolinas, can now boast. Her land will be worth \$20 an acre, and her total wealth will be \$500,000,000 of money; 600,000 children will learn in her schools.

5. There will be a ring of Freedom all round the Slave States, and in them slavery itself will decline. The Theory of Bondage will be given up, like the theory of theocracy and monarchy; and attempts will be made to get rid of the Fact. Then the North will help the Southern States in that noble work. There will never be another Slave State nor another Slave President; no more kidnapping in the North; no more chains round the Court House in Boston; no more preaching against the first Principles of all Humanity.

Three hundred years ago, our fathers in Europe were contending for liberty. Then it was Freedom of Conscience which the Progressive Force of the people demanded. Julius the Third had just been Pope, who gave the Cardinalship, vacated at his election, to the keeper of his monkeys; and Paul IV. sat in his stead in St. Peter's chair, and represented in general for all Europe the Regressive Power; while bloody Mary and bloodier Philip sat on England's throne, and, incited thereto by the Pontiff, smote at the rights of man.

Two hundred years ago, our fathers in the two Englands — Old and New — did grim battle against monarchic despotism: one Charles slept in his bloody grave, another wandered through the elegant debaucheries of the Continent; while Cromwell and Milton made liberal England abidingly famous and happy.

One hundred years ago, other great battling for the Rights of Man was getting begun. Ah me! the long-continued

strife is not ended. The question laid over by our fathers is adjourned to us for settlement. It is the old question between the Substance of man and his Accidents, Labor, and Capital, the People and a Caste.

Shall the 350,000 slaveholders own all the 1,400,000 square miles of territory not yet made States, and drive all Northern men away from it, or shall it belong to the People; shall this vast area be like Arkansas and South Carolina, or like Michigan and Connecticut? That is the *immediate* question.

Shall Slavery spread over all the United States, and root out Freedom from the land? or shall Freedom spread wide her blessed boughs till the whole continent is fed by her fruit, and lodged beneath her arms,— her very leaves for the healing of the nations? That is the *ultimate* question.

Now is the time for America to choose between these two alternatives, and choose quick. For America? No, for the North. You and I are to decide this mighty question. I take it, the Anglo-Saxon will not forego his Ethnological Instinct for freedom; will not now break the Historic Habit of two thousand years: he will progressively tend to Christianity and Democracy; will put slavery down, peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must.

We may now end this Crime against Humanity by ballots; wait a little, and only with swords and with blood can this deep and widening blot of shame be scoured out from the Continent. No election, since that first and unopposed of Washington, has been so important to America as this now before us. Once the nation chose between Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson. When the choice is between Slavery and Freedom, will the North choose wrong? Any railroad company may, by accident, elect a knave for President; but when he has been convicted of squandering their substance on himself, and blowing up their engines,— nay, destroying their sons and daughters,— will the stockholders choose a swindler for ever?

I think we shall put Slavery down; I have small doubt of that. But shall we do it now and without tumult, or by and by with a dreadful revolution, St. Domingo massacres, and the ghastly work of war?

Shall America decide for wickedness,— extend the dark places of the earth, filled up yet fuller with the habitations of cruelty? Then our ruin is certain,— is also just. The Power of Self-rule, which we were not fit for, will pass from our hands, and the halter of vengeance will gripe our neck, and America shall lie there on the shore of the sea, one other victim who died as the fool dieth. What a ruin it would be! Come away! I cannot look, even in fancy, on so foul a sight.

If we decide for the Unalienable Rights of man; for present Welfare, future Progress; for Christianity and Democracy; and so organize things and men that all may share the Labor and Government of society,— then what a prospect is before us! How populous, how rich, will the land become! Ere long, her borders wide will embrace the hemisphere,— how full of men! If we are faithful to our duty, one day, America, youngest of nations, shall sit on the Cordilleras, the youthful Mother of the Continent of States. Behind her are the Northern lakes, the Northern forest bounded by Arctic ice and snow; on her left hand swells the Atlantic, the Pacific on her right,— both beautiful with the white lilies of Commerce, giving fragrance all round the world; while before her spreads out the Southern land, from Terra Firma to the Isles of Fire, blessed with the Saxon mind and conscience, heart and soul; and, underneath her eye, into the lap of the Hemisphere, the Amazon and the Mississippi— classic rivers of Freedom— pour the riches of either Continent; and behind her, before her, on either hand, all round, and underneath her eye, extends the New World of Humanity, the Commonwealth of the People, Justice, the law thereof, and infinite perfection, God; a Church with-

out a bishop, a State without a king, a Community without a lord, a Family with no holder of slaves, with Welfare for the present, and Progress for the future, she will show the nations how divine a thing a People can be made.

“ Oh, well for him whose Will is strong !  
He suffers, but he will not suffer long ;  
He suffers, but he cannot suffer Wrong :  
For him nor moves the loud world's random mock,  
Nor all Calamity's hugest waves confound,  
Who seems a promontory of rock,  
That, compassed round with turbulent sound,  
In middle ocean meets the surging shock,  
Tempest-buffeted, citadel-crown'd.”









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ON FRIDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 29, 1858.

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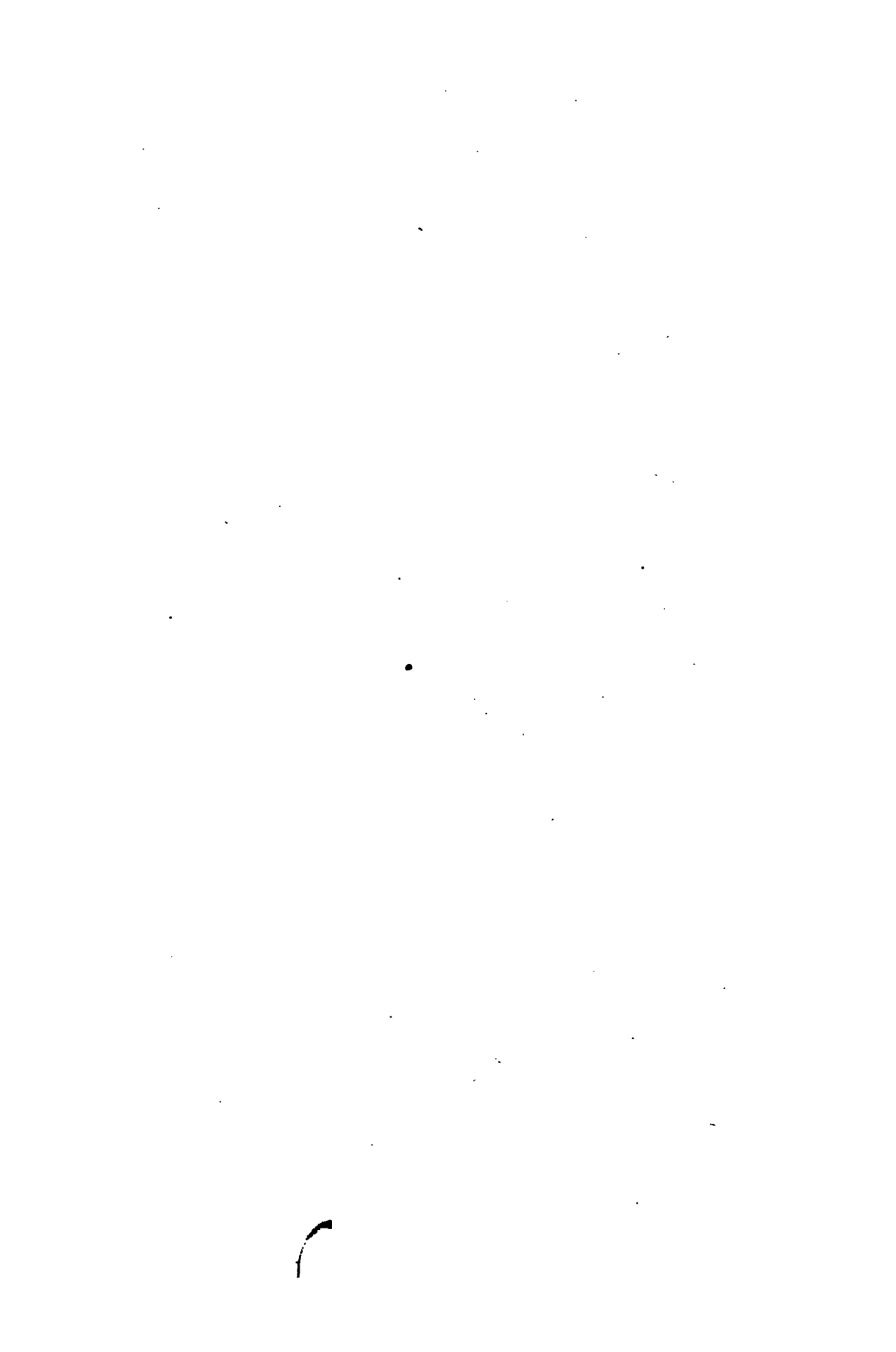
BY THEODORE PARKER.

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BOSTON:  
BELA MARSH,

14 BROMFIELD STREET.

1858.



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T H E

# PRESENT ASPECT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA

A N D

THE IMMEDIATE DUTY OF THE NORTH:

## A S P E E C H

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE STATE HOUSE,

BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

ON FRIDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 29, 1858.

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BY THEODORE PARKER.

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BOSTON:  
B E L A M A R S H,  
14 BROMFIELD STREET.  
1858.

1859. Jan. 18.

copy of

Rev. Theodore Barker  
of Boston.

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# S P E E C H .

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I shall not hold you long to-night. There are others to speak after me, who have better claims to your attention — the one [Mr. Remond] for his race, the other [Mr. Phillips] for the personal attributes of eloquence which, in America, have never reached a higher height, or exhibited themselves in so fair a form. The hand of the dial shall pass round once, and I leave this spot, to be filled more worthily. During these sixty minutes, I ask your attention to some thoughts on the Present Aspect of Slavery in America, and the Immediate Duty of the North.

Mr. Guizot — one of the most learned and humane of the European statesmen — prefaced one edition of his “History of Representative Government” by stating that the conditions of National Welfare were far more difficult than the too sanguine hopes of mankind had ever led them to expect. If that were so in Europe, where centuries of bitter experience have taught men to be cautious in their hopes, how much truer it is in America, where we think liberty is so natural to the soil and congenial to man that it needs no support from the people, but will thrive of its own sweet accord !

In some respects, our experiment is simpler than the great attempts at freedom made before us in the old world ; in some others, it is more complex and difficult. All the old forms of civilization were based on Unity of Race. It was



so with the Romans, Greeks, Persians, Hebrews, Egyptians, East Indians. The same holds good of the Moors, who mark the transition from ancient to modern times. All the mediæval attempts at improvement had the same character — in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, England itself. Civilization hitherto has belonged only to the Caucasian race. The Africans have remained strangers to it in all times past; they could not achieve it for themselves at the time, hitherto never rising above the savage or the barbarous state; no other people brought it to them, or them to it save in small numbers.

It was left for America to begin a new experiment in the History of Civilization — to bring diverse races into closest contact. The Catholic Spaniard began the experiment: he mixed his blood with the Red man, whose country he subdued; he brought hither also the Black man. Thus the African savage, the American barbarian, and the civilized Caucasian of Spain, became joint stockholders in this new coparceny of races. The Protestant Briton continued what his Catholic predecessor had begun; and while the Puritan was painfully voyaging to Plymouth, in the wilderness seeking an asylum where the Apocalyptic woman might bear her man-child to grow up in freedom, other Saxons were bringing a ship-load of negroes to the wilderness, to become slaves forever. Thus the African came to British and Spanish America. Out of the 60,000,000 inhabitants of this continent, I take it about 9,000,000 are of this unfortunate race.

In the United States to-day, four of the five great races live side by side. There are some 60,000 or 80,000 Mongolian Chinese in California, I am told; there are 400,000 American Indians within our borders; perhaps 4,500,000 Africans; and 26,000,000 Caucasians. The union of such diverse ethnological elements makes our experiment of democracy more complex, and perhaps more difficult than it would otherwise be.

The Mongolians are few in numbers, and so transient in their stay that nothing more need now be said of them.

It is plain where the Red man will go. In two hundred years, an Indian will be as rare in the United States as now in New England. Like the bear and the buffalo, he perishes with the forest, which to him and them was what cultivated fields, towns, and cities are to us. Our fathers tried to enslave the ferocious and unprogressive Indian ; he would not work—for himself as a freeman, nor for others as a slave ; he would fight. He would not be enslaved — he could not help being killed. He perishes before us. The sinewy Caucasian laborer lays hold on the phlegmatic Indian warrior ; they struggle in deadly grasp — naked man to naked man, hand to shoulder, knee to knee, breast to breast ; the white man bends the red man over, crushes him down, and chokes him dead. It is always so when the civilized meets the savage, or the barbarian — naked man to naked man : how much more fatal is the issue to the feeble when the white man shirted in iron has the Small Pox for his ally, and Rum for his tomahawk ! In the long run of history, the race is always to the swift, and the battle to the strong. The Indian will perish — utterly and soon.

The African is the most docile and pliant of all the races of men ; none has so little ferocity : vengeance, instancial with the Caucasian, is exceptional in his history. In his barbarous, savage, or even wild state, he is not much addicted to revenge ; always prone to mercy. No race is so strong in the affectional instinct which attaches man to man by tender ties ; none so easy, indolent, confiding, so little warlike. Hence is it that the white men have kidnapped the black, and made him their prey.

This piece of individual biography tells us the sad history of the African race. Not long since, a fugitive slave told me his adventures. I will call him John — 't is not his name. He is an entire negro — his grandfather was brought direct from the Congo coast to America. A stout man, thick-set, able-bodied, with great legs, and mighty arms, he could take any man from this platform, and hurl him thrice his length.

He was a slave — active, intelligent, and much confided in. He had a wife and children. One day his master, in a fit of rage, struck at him with a huge club, which broke both of his arms; they were awkwardly set, and grew out deformed. The master promised to sell the man to himself for a large sum, and take the money by instalments, a little at a time. But when more than half of it was paid, he actually sold him to a trader, to be taken further South, and there disposed of. The appeals of the wife, the tears of the children, moved not the master whom justice had also failed to touch. As the boat which contained poor John shot by the point of land where he had lived, his wife stood upon the shore, and held her babies up for him to look upon for the last time. Descending the Mississippi, the captain of the boat had the river fever, lost his sight for the time, and John took the command. One night far down the Mississippi, he found himself on board a boat with the three kidnappers who had him in their power, and intended to sell him. They were asleep below, — the captain still blind with the disease, — he watchful on deck. “I crept down barefoot,” said John. “There they lay in their bunks, all fast asleep. They had money, and I none. I had done them no harm, but they had torn me from my wife, from my children, from my liberty. I stole up noiselessly, and came back again, the boat’s axe in my hand. I lifted it up, and grit my teeth together, and was about to strike: and it came into my mind, ‘No murderer hath eternal life.’ I put the axe back in its place, and was sold into slavery. What would you have done in such a case?” I told him that I thought I should have sent the kidnappers to their own place first, and then trusted that the act would be imputed to me for righteousness by an all-righteous God! I need not ask what Mr. Garrison would do in like case. I think his Saxon blood would move swift enough to sweep off his non-resistant creed, and the three kidnappers would have started on their final journey before he asked, “*Where shall I go?*”

John's story is also the story of Africa. The stroke of an axe would have settled the matter long ago. But the black man would not strike. One day, perhaps, he will do what yonder monument commends.

At this moment, we have perhaps 4,500,000 men of African descent in the United States ; say 4,000,000 slaves, 500,000 free. They are with us, are of us ; America cannot be rid of them if she would. Shall they continue slaves, or be set free ? What consequences will follow either result ? This is the great question for America. It is the question of Industry, of Morals, of Religion ; it is the immediate question of Politics. It does not concern the 4,000,000 slaves alone, but also each of the 26,000,000 Caucasian freemen. On it depends the success or the failure of our experiment of Democracy. The bondage of a class may continue in a despotism ; there it is no contradiction to the national Idea. It is different in a Democracy which rests on the Equality of all Men in Natural Rights. So here the question of slavery is this : " Shall we have an Industrial Democracy, or a Military Despotism ? " If you choose Slavery, then you take the issue of Slavery, which can no more be separated from it than cold from ice. No nation can escape the consequences of its own first principle of politics. The logic of the idea is the " Manifest Destiny " of the people. If Slavery continues, Democracy goes down ; every form of Republicanism, or of constitutional Monarchy, will perish ; and Absolute Military Despotism take their place at last. From Despotism, as seed reared in the national garden comes Despotism, as national crop, growing in the continental field.

This question of Slavery does not concern America alone ; all Christendom likewise is party to the contest. To all men it is a question of Industry, Commerce, Education, Morals, Religion ; to the civilized world, it is the great question of Civilization itself. Shall this great continent be delivered over to Ideas which help the Progress of Mankind, or to those which only hinder it ?

Every year brings America into closer relations with the rest of mankind. Our slavery becomes, therefore, an element in the world's politics. See, then, for a moment, how the various Christian nations stand affected towards it.

Just now, there are but five great national powers in the civilized or Christian world. Spain, Italy, and Greece pass for nothing—they have no influence in the progressive movements of mind, are no longer a force in the world's civilization. They are not wholly dead; but so far as they affect other peoples, it is only by the thought of past generations, not the present. I pass those three decaying nations by, and look at the live peoples. There is (1) the Russian Power—a great Slavic People holding Mongolians in subjection; (2) the French Power—a great Celtic People variously crossed with Basque, Roman, and Teutonic tribes; (3) the German Power—a great Teutonic People, in many nations or States, with Slavic and Celtic elements mixed in; (4) the English Power—a great Saxon-Teutonic People, with Celtic annexations; and (5) the American Power—a great English-Saxon-Teutonic People, with diverse mixtures from the rest of mankind. All the four act on the fifth, and influence our treatment of this question of Slavery.

I. Russia is mighty by its vast territory, its great natural resources, its immense population, its huge army—appointed and commanded well—its strong central government, its diplomatic talent, and the people's ability to spread. The Government is despotic, but yet one of the most progressive in Christendom. With the bondage of Africans, Russia has no direct concern; she has much to do with that of white Caucasians. She is rapidly putting an end to slavery in her own borders. Not many years ago, the late Emperor Nicholas emancipated the serfs he had inherited as his own private property. They amounted to more than 7,500,000 men; he established over 4,000 schools for the education of their children. Alexander, his son, had not been in the imperial seat three years before he published a decree for the gradual

and ultimate emancipation of all the serfs in the empire. Their number must exceed the entire population of the United States. Here is the decree, dated the 20th of last November — the 2d of December by our New Style calendar. The proprietors of two large provinces — St. Petersburg and Lithuania (containing nearly three million souls) some weeks since, asked permission to emancipate their serfs at once. Yesterday's steamer brings also the welcome news that the proprietors of Nishni-Novogorod have just done the same. This province is as large as Virginia, with a population of 1,500,000, and, with the exception of the capital and its environs, is the richest and most intellectual part of the empire. It abounds with manufactories; every year, 300,000 strangers from Asia and elsewhere trade in its fairs. You would expect the most enlightened population to demand the immediate freedom of the serfs. Russia has become an ally on our side. Her example favors freedom. Soon you will find a change in the Southern newspapers, and in the American Government, which they direct and control. In the Crimean war, when Russia fought for injustice, they sustained her as the ally of their own despotism, and fought against England as their foe. All that will soon change; and already Southern papers denounce the enfranchisement of the Russian serf: "The example is dangerous;" "the condition of the British West Indies, and of Hayti, might have taught Alexander a better lesson."

II. The French are powerful through the character of the people — the most military in the world — their science, letters, art, the high civilization of the land. France has had a long and sad connection with African slavery. Once she was the most cruel of cruel masters. In her first Revolution, of 1789, the chain was broken, but its severed links united again. In the last Revolution, of 1848, at the magic word of Lamartine, expressing the revolutionary thought of the people, the fetters were not only broken off, but cast into the sea. France, for a moment, was the ally of freedom — and of course encoun-

tered the noisy wrath of the Southern States. But the Celtic French, the most fickle people in the world, revolution their normal state, perpetually turning round and round, have elected a tyrant for their master, and now worship the Emperor. He has "crushed out" freedom from the French press as completely as our own Mr. Cushing wished to do in America. The new tyrant attempts to revive the African slave trade, and has already made arrangements for kidnapping 5,000 savages in Africa, and sending them as missionaries to Christianize the West Indies! What will come of this scheme, I know not. But just now the political power of France is hostile to freedom everywhere. When the Emperor has padlocked even the French *mouth*, no wonder he finds it easy to chain the negro's hands. No doubt the intellectual and moral power of France are on our side as before; but both are silent and of no avail. The French Emperor is the "little Napoleon" of the African slave trade. Great is the joy thereat in the Southern States; already their newspapers glorify the "profound policy," "the wise and humane statesmanship of the great Emperor."

"A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind."

III. The Germans are of our blood and language — bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh — with the same blue eyes, the same brown hair, and ruddy cheek, and instinctive love of individuality. The people which began the civilization of modern times by inventing the Press, and originating the Protestant Reformation, can it ever be false to Freedom? Germany acts on mankind by Thought — by great ideas. What France is for war, England for commerce, and Russia for the brute power of men, that is Germany for thought. The Germans have had connection with African slavery, but have ended it. Sweden begun the work some years ago; then Denmark followed; now, within the last few months, Holland has finished it. Here are the documents. Soon the last foot-

steps of German Oppression will be covered up by the black man rejoicing in his freedom. Though their rulers are often tyrants, our German kinsfolk are on our side—God bless them!

IV. England has great influence by her political institutions, her army and navy, her commerce and manufactures, her power of practical thought, her large wealth, her mighty spread. She and her children control a sixth part of the globe, and nearly a fourth part of its people. No tribe of men has done such service for freedom as the Anglo-Saxons in Britain and America. England has had connection with African slavery, her hand has been dyed deep in the negro's blood. She planted slavery in her provinces throughout the continent and its many islands; the ocean reeked with the foul steam of her slave-ships. She was a hard master, and men died by millions under her lash. But nobly did the dear old mother put this wickedness away. She abolished the slave trade, making it piracy; at length, she repudiated slavery itself, and in one day threw into the sea the fetters of 800,000 men. Well did Lord Brougham say—it was “the greatest triumph ever won over the foulest wrong man ever did against man.” England need not boast of Agincourt, Cressy, Poitiers, and many another victorious fight, at Waterloo, Sebastopol, or Delhi; the most glorious victory her annals record was achieved on the first of August, in the first year of Victoria, when Justice triumphed over such giant wrong. Nobly has she contended against the slave trade, rousing the tardy conscience of Brazil, and not quite vainly galvanizing Spain into some show of humanity. She has shamed even the American government—and I think we have a sloop-of-war on the African coast, which we yearly hear of in the annual appropriation bill!

But this nobleness is exceptional even in England; the world had seen no such example before. That emancipation was not brought about by the privileged class, the royal and nobiliary, who officially reign, or the commercial class, who



actually govern the nation ; but by the moral class, whose conscience stirred the people, and constrained the government to do so just a deed. Of course a reaction must follow. We see its effect to-day. There is a party which favors African slavery. Mr. Carlyle is the heroic representative thereof. Personally amiable, in his ideas he is the Goliath of slavery. Just now, the London *Times* appears to favor this reactionary movement, and its powerful articles are reprinted with great jubilation in the American newspapers, which hate England because they love the slavery which she has hated so long. There is no time to inquire into the cause of this reaction. It affects the political class, and still more certain commercial classes to whom "Cotton is King." Great is the delight of the South ; the Slave Power sings *Te deums* to its God. A bill was before the Senate, not long since, appropriating \$3750 to pay the masters for twelve slaves who ran away and were carried off by the British in the war of 1812, whom the captors, even then, refused to deliver up to "democratic bondage." Mr. Hale opposed the bill, because it recognized the doctrine that there may be property in human beings, declaring that neither by vote nor by silence would he ever recognize so odious and false a doctrine. Mr. Seward joined in the opposition. But Mr. Fugitive Slave Bill Mason came to the rescue ; and after referring to the anti-slavery opinions of the British, declared he was "*gratified to see those opinions are rapidly undergoing a change.*" What signs of such a rapid change he may have seen, I know not ; nor what sympathies with the Slave power the accomplished British Minister, new in this field, may have expressed to him : "Diplomacy is a silent art." But I think Mr. Mason greatly mistakes the British Public, if he believes they will be fickle in their love of Right. The Anglo-Saxon has always been a resolute tribe. I believe John Bull is the most obstinate of all national animals. When his instinctive feelings and his reflective conscience command the same thing, depend upon it he will not lack the Will.

There may have been a change in the British Government, though I doubt it much ; there has been in the *London Times*. In the "Cotton Lords," I take it, there is no alteration of doctrine, only an utterance of what they have long thought. The opinion of the British People, I think, has only changed to a yet greater hatred against slavery. The Anti-Slavery Party in England has immense power — not so much by its numbers, or its wealth, as by its intelligence, and still more by that Justice which, in the long run of time, is always sure of the victory. At the head of this party I must place Lord Brougham, now drawing near the end of a long and most laborious life, not without its eccentricities, but mainly devoted to the highest interests of the human race. Within the four seas of Britain, I think there lives no man who has done so much to proclaim Ideas of Justice and Humanity, and to diffuse them among the people. If he could not oftener organize them into law, it was because he took too long a step in advance of public opinion ; and he that would lead a child must always keep hold of its hand. Nearly fifty years ago, (June 14, 1810,) he fought against the slave trade, and drew on him the wrath of men "who live by treachery, rapine, torture, and murder, and are habitually practicing the worst of crimes for the worst of purposes." Long ago he declared — "There is a law above all the enactments of human codes — the same throughout the world, the same in all times ; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man ; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man." When the little tyrant of France revives the slave trade, the great champion of human right roused him once more for battle, and the British Government has taken the affair in hand. The British love of Justice will triumph in this contest. Why, the History of England is pledged as security therefor.

Such to-day is the opinion of the four great nations of

Christian Europe. What if the despotic power of the French Emperor be against us ; what if, for a moment, the Cotton Lords of England lead a few writers and politicians to attempt the restoration of bondage ; the conscience of England and her history, the intelligence of France and Germany, the example of Russia are on our side. Yes, the teachings of universal human history. All these come with their accumulated force to help the moral feeling of America sustain the Rights of Man.

The American Government has long been on the side of Slavery. The present Administration is more openly hostile to freedom than any of its predecessors. Mr. Buchanan is no doubt weak and infatuated, strong only in his wrong-headedness ; his Cabinet is palsied with slavery. But he has done one service which was thought hopelessly difficult, — he has already made President Pierce's administration respectable. We complain of the New Hampshire General, but the little finger of Buchanan's left hand is thicker than Pierce's whole loins.

Since we met last the Federal Government has committed two outrages more.

I. The first is the Dred Scott Decision. The Supreme Court is only the dirty mouth of the Slave Power, — its chief function to belch forth iniquity, and name it law. Of the decision itself, I need not speak. It is the political opinion of seven partisans appointed to do officially that wickedness which their personal nature also no doubt inclined them to. That Court went a little beyond itself, — out-Heroding Herod.

Two Northern Judges, only two, McLean and Curtis, opposed the wrong. I think nobody will accuse me of any personal prejudice in favor of Judge Curtis, or any undue partiality towards him. His conduct on other and trying occasions has been justly condemned on the Anti-Slavery platform, and is not likely to be soon forgot, nor should it ever be. But I should do great injustice to you and him, and still more to my own feelings, if I let this occasion pass without a word of honest and hearty

praise of that able lawyer and strong-minded man. He opposed the "decision:" with but a single Northern Judge to support him, with two Northern Judges to throw technical difficulties in his way and oppose him by coward treachery, with five Southern Judges openly attacking and brow-beating him, with both the outgoing and incoming Administration to oppress and mock at him, with subtle and treacherous advisers at home to beguile his steps and watch for his halting did Judge Curtis stand up at Washington, amid those corrupt and wicked judges, and in the name of History which they falsified, of Law which they profaned, of Justice which they mocked at, with a manliness which Story never showed on such occasions, he pronounced his sentence against the wicked Court. I remember his former conduct with indignation and with shame; but no blackness of the old record shall prevent me from turning over a new leaf, and with golden letters writing there—*In the Supreme Court, JUDGE CURTIS DEFENDED ONCE THE HIGHER LAW OF RIGHT.*

I am truly sorry his manhood did not stay by him and continue his presence in that Court. The defence of his resignation is found in the inadequacy of the salary. It was \$4,500 when he took it, \$6,000 when he left it. A pitiful reason — by no means the true one. Samuel Adams was a poor man; I do not think he would have left his seat in the revolutionary Congress because more money could be made by the cod-fishery or by privateering.

II. The Dred Scott decision was the first enormity. The next is Gen. Walker's filibustering expedition. I regard this as the act of the Government. "What you do by another, you do also by yourself," is a maxim older than the Roman Law which preserves it. I am not inclined generally to place much confidence in Walker's word, but he sometimes tells the truth. In a recent speech at Mobile, he says he had an interview with the President, last summer, and declared his intention of returning to Nicaragua: his (filibustering) letter was published with the President's consent. A member of

the Cabinet sought a confidential interview with him, told him where he might go with safety, where only with danger, and added, "You will probably sail in an American vessel, under the American flag. After you have passed American limits, no one can touch you but by consent of this Government." A Cabinet minister told one of Walker's friends, if he made an alliance with Mexico, and *attempted the conquest of Cuba*, "*means shall not be lacking to carry out the enterprise.*" Walker says the government arrested him, not because he attacked Nicaragua, but because he did not attack Mexico! I hold the Federal Government responsible alike for the conduct of Walker and the Supreme Court.

But omitting particulars, looking only at the general course of the Government, you find it favors slavery with continued increase of intensity. Let not this rest on my testimony alone, or your judgment. Here is "An Address delivered before the Euphemian and Philomathean Literary Societies of Erskine College, at the Annual Commencement, Wednesday, August 12th, 1857, by Richard Yeadon, Esq., of Charleston, S. C." Mr. Yeadon is a Representative man, editor of the *Charleston Courier*, and a staunch defender of the peculiar institution. He tells us he comes "rather to sow the good seed of truth, than to affect the arts or graces of oratory; to teach the lessons of history, and impress the deductions of reason, than to twine the garlands of science, or strew the roses of literature;" he would "combine the didactic in large measure with the rhetorical." He discusses the character of the Federal Government and its relation to Slavery, "on which rest the pillars of the great social fabric of the South." He attempts to show that the Constitution was so framed as to uphold slavery and check freedom; and that the Federal Government has carried out the plan with such admirable vigor, that now Slavery can stand by its own strength. But you must have his own words:—

"The new Constitution not only recognized, sanctioned, and

guaranteed it [slavery] as a State institution, sacred within State limits from federal invasion or interference, but also so far as to foster and expand it, by federal protection and agency, wherever it was legalized, within State or Territorial limits; to uphold it by federal power and the federal arm against domestic violence or foreign invasion; and to make it an element of federal organization and existence, by adopting it as a basis of federal representation and a source of federal revenue."

"From that day to this, the institution of *domestic slavery*, within the several States, *has been regarded and held sacred as a reserved right*, exclusively within State jurisdiction and beyond the constitutional power of Congress or of the General Government, except for guarantee, protection, and defence; it being one and the chief of those 'particular interests' which the Convention had in view, as enhancing the difficulty of their work."

"The General Government and the co-States are bound by constitutional duty and federal compact, to uphold and defend the institution, wherever it lawfully exists, in any of the States."

"Indeed, so unquestionable is the exclusive jurisdiction of State sovereignty, except in the way of guarantee and protection, over the institution of slavery within State limits, that even the high priest and arch-fiend of political free-soilism, Wm. H. Seward, in his speech in Congress, on the admission of California into the Union, thus conceded it — 'No free State claims to extend its legislation into a slave State. None claims that Congress shall *usurp* power to abolish slavery in the slave States;' and the wildest fanatics of abolitionism, of the Parker and Garrison school, acknowledge that their atrocious crusade against the South can only achieve its unhallowed aims by trampling as well on the Constitution of their country, as on the Oracles of God."

He has admiration for one Northern man who has been remarkably faithful to the ideas and plans of the Slave Power. He says it is the duty of the General Government to protect Slavery by suppressing insurrectionary movements, or attempts at domestic violence, and to turn out the whole force of the Republic, regular and militia:—

“It was in contemplation of such a contingency, such a *casus federis*, that the eloquent, accomplished, and gifted Everett, (now dedicating his extraordinary powers of composition and elocution, *under the auspices of ‘The Southern Matron,’* a patriot daughter of the Palmetto State, to the purchase and consecration of the home and the grave of Washington, as the Mecca of America,) in his maiden speech as the representative in Congress of the city of Boston, in 1826, then fresh from the pulpit, in *honorable contrast with the dastardly Sumners* and bullying Burlingames of the present day, thus patriotically and fervently spoke — ‘Sir, I am no soldier. My habits and education are very unmilitary; but there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back, and put a musket on my shoulder, than that of putting down a servile insurrection in the South.’”

The newspapers say, with exquisite truth, that Mr. Everett is “the monarch of the platform,” the “greatest literary ornament of the entire continent of America.” So he is: but to Mr. Yeadon he is also a great hero, the iron man of courage, unlike the “*dastardly Sumners*,” and “*the dishonored and perjured miscreants, Seward, Sumner, et id omne genus*, who advocated the ‘higher law doctrine.’”

He thus sums up the whole of our history:—

“*The American Union . . . has been the great bulwark of . . . Southern Slavery, and has, in fact, nursed and fostered it, from a feeble and rickety infancy, into a giant manhood and maturity, and self sustaining power, able to maintain itself either in the Union or out of the Union, as may best comport with the future policy and welfare of the Southern States.*”

“Finally to crown all, comes, in august majesty, the decision of the Supreme Judiciary of the United States in the case of Dred Scott, *pronouncing the Missouri restriction unconstitutional, null and void, and declaring all Territories of the Union, present and future, when acquired by purchase or conquest, by common treasure or common blood, to be held by the General Government, as a trustee for the common benefit of all the States, and open to every occupancy and residence of the citizens of every State, with their property of every descrip-*

tion, including slaves, reposing under the ægis of the Constitution."

"The cheering result, then, is, that the Southern States stand now on stronger and higher ground than at any previous period of our history; and this, under the progressive and constitutional action of the General Government, blotting out invidious lines, establishing the broad platform of State equality, *demolishing squatter sovereignty*, retrieving the errors of the past, and furnishing new securities for the future."

"The number of slaveholding States has been increased to fifteen, out of an aggregate of thirty-one States, with a fair prospect of *further increase in Texas, and in other Territory, acquired or to be acquired from Mexico, in the Carribean sea, and still further South.*"

The Slave States, he says, no longer "conceding domestic slavery to be a 'moral, social, and political evil,' any more than any other system of menial and prædial labor, but able . . . to defend it as consistent with Scriptural teachings, and as an *ordinance of Jehovah for the culture and welfare of the staple States*, and the civilization and Christianization of the African." To them he says, "Cotton is King, and destined to rule the nations with imperial sway."

The slaveholders feel stronger than ever before. This privileged class, the "Nobility of Democracy," counts only 350,000 in all. Feeble in numbers, the Slave Power is strong in position—holding the great federal offices, Judicial, Executive, and Military, stronger in purpose and in will. "The hope, the courage of assailants is always greater than that of those who act merely on the defensive." At the South, it rules the non-slaveholders, as at the North it has had also the Democratic party under its thumb. There is a secret article in the creed of that party which demands unconditional submission to the infallibility of the negro-driver. Senator Toombs has no slaves in Georgia who yield to his will more submissively than to the whim of the Southern master crouches Hon. Mr. Cushing, whose large intellectual talents,



great attainments, and consummate political art, in this hall so fitly represent the town of Newburyport. It is the glory of the Northern Democratic party that it has been the most cringing slave to the haughtiest and unworthiest master in the world. All individuality seemed "crushed out," to use Mr. Cushing's own happy phrase. Within eight months, every Northern State has had a State Democratic Convention, each of which has passed resolutions endorsing the Dred Scott decision. This act implies no individuality of thought or of will. The Southern master gave command to each Northern squad of Democrats — "Make ready your resolutions in support of the Dred Scott decision!" They "make ready." "Consider resolutions!" They "consider." "Vote aye!" They "vote aye."

The Slave Power, thus controlling the slaves and slaveholders at the South, and the Democratic party at the North, easily manages the Government at Washington. The Federal officers are marked with different stripes — Whig, Democrat, and so on. They are all owned by the same master, and lick the same hand. So it controls the nation. It silences the great sects, Trinitarian, Unitarian, Nullitarian: the chief ministers of this American Church — three-fold in denominations, one in nature — have nought to say against slavery; the Tract Society dares not rebuke the "sum of all villainies," the Bible Society has no "Word of God" for the slave, the "revealed religion" is not revealed to him. Writers of school-books "remember the hand that feeds them," and venture no word against the national crime which threatens to become also the national ruin. In no nation on earth is there such social tyranny of opinion. In Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, Italy, and Spain, the despotic bayonet has pinned the public lips together. The democratic hands of America have sewed up her own mouth with an iron thread — that and fetters are the only product of the Southern mine. In Washington, not a man in the meanest office dares open his lips against the monster which threatens to devour his

babies and his wife. No doctor allows himself a word against that tyrant — his business would forsake him if he did. In Southern States, this despotism drives off all outspoken men. Mr. Underwood, of Virginia, made a speech against the extension of slavery into Kansas, — he must take his life in his hand, and flee from his native State. Mr. Helper, of North Carolina, writes a brave, noble book, cyphering out the results of freedom and of bondage, — even *North Carolina* is too hot to hold him. Mr. Strickland, at Mobile, sells now and then an anti-slavery book, — the great State of Alabama drives him out, scares off his wife, and will not allow him to collect his honest debts! At the North, you know the disposition of men who hold office from the Federal Government, or who seek and expect it: the Federal hand is raised to strangle Democracy. They never give the alarm; 't would be to “strike the hand that feeds them.” Nay, they crouch down and “lick the hand just raised to shed *our* blood.” Even at Washington, Slavery has sewed up the delegated Northern mouth, else so noisy once. It is nearly two years since a Southern bully, a representative man of South Carolina, stole upon our great Senator, with coward blows felled him to the ground, and with his bludgeon beat the stunned and unconscious man. He meant to “silence agitation:” he did his work too well. Excepting the discussion which followed that outrage, do you remember an anti-slavery speech in the Senate since Charles Sumner's, in May, 1856? Can you think of one in the House? If such have been spoken, I have not heard either, though I have listened all the time. Now and then, some one has made an apology for the North, promising not to touch Slavery in the part most woundable. But I believe there has been no manly anti-slavery speech in House or Senate till Mr. Hale broke the silence with a noble word. The Slave Power dealt the blows upon one Northern man, and nearly silenced all the rest! “The *safer* part of Valor is Discretion!” The South has many slaves not counted in the census. Ought they to represent the North?

The Slave Power is conscious of strength, and sure of victory. It never felt so strong before. Look at this: the Treasury Department has just instructed the collectors not to permit a free negro to act as master of a vessel,—he is not a citizen of the United States! See what the Southern States are doing. A bill has been reported in the Senate of Louisiana, authorizing that State to import five thousand African slaves. If it becomes a law, the Government will not prevent the act; our worst enemy, the Supreme Court, is ready to declare unconstitutional the law which forbids the African slave trade. The South may import as many slaves as she likes; the Government is for her wickedness, not against that,—only against Justice and the Unalienable Rights of Man. Another bill is pending before the Virginia Legislature to banish or enslave all the 75,000 free colored persons in that State, where more than one President has been the father of a mulatto woman's child. The law to enslave them all may pass; the Federal Government cares nothing about it. African Rachel may mourn in vain for her first-born, and refuse to be comforted, because the Virginian Jacob chains the parti-colored Joseph that she bore to him; let her mourn! What does the Federal Herod care that in all Virginia there is a voice heard of lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning from the poor Rachel of Africa?

Stronger than ever before, at least in fancy, and yet more truly impudent than fancied strong, the Slave Power proposes two immediate measures:—

I. To pass the Lecompton Constitution through Congress, and force Slavery into the laws of Kansas, against the oft-repeated vote of the people.

II. To add seven thousand men to the standing army of the United States. They are nominally to put down the polygamous Mormons in Utah,—Satan contradicting the lies he is the father of!—but really to support the more grossly polygamous slaveholders; to force the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas with the bayonet; in all the North, to

execute the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the Dred Scott Decision, already made, and the Lemmon decision, about to be made, and establish Slavery in each free State; and also to put down any insurrection of the colored people at the South. The Mormons are the pretence, no more; the army is raised against the Democracy of Massachusetts, not the Polygamy of Utah.

Ladies and Gentlemen, both of these measures will pass the Senate, pass the House. If it were the end of a Presidential term, I should expect they would be defeated. But men worship the rising sun, not the setting, who has no more *golden* light for them. A Boston merchant, with but \$87,000, could bribe men enough to pass his tariff bill! The new President, he has more than \$87,000,000, — offices for three years to come. The addition to the army will cost at least \$5,000,000 a year, and the patronage that gives will command votes enough. I know how tender are the feelings of Congress; I know how politicians reject with scorn the idea that money or office could alter their vote; but we all know that a President, his pocket full of public money, his hands full of offices, can buy votes of Honorable Senators and Honorable Representatives just as readily as you can buy peanuts of the huckster down stairs. I need not go from this hall, or its eastern neighbor, I need not go back seven years to find Honorable members of the "Great and General Court of Massachusetts" who were bought with a price. I shall tell no names, though I know them only too well. Peter did repent, and Judas may — I will give him a chance. I expect, therefore, that both these measures will pass. Then you will find the Northern "Democracy" supporting them; future Conventions will ring with Resolutions in favor of the Le-compton Convention, and A GREAT STANDING ARMY will be one of the acknowledged "Principles" of the Democratic party — a toast on Independence Day.

When the two immediate measures are disposed of, there are three others a little more remote, which are likewise to be passed upon.

I. The first is to establish Slavery in all the Northern States,—the Dred Scott Decision has already put it in all the Territories. The Supreme Court will make a decision in the Lemmon case, and authorize any one of the Southern masters of the North to bring his slaves to any Northern State, and keep them as long as he pleases. Colored men “have no rights which white men are bound to respect,”—so says the Supreme Court, which is greater than the Constitution; and if that be true generally, everywhere, then it will be true specially in Massachusetts. I have no doubt the Supreme Court will make the decision. We have no Judge Curtis to sit in that Court, and give his verdict for Law and Justice; his place is occupied by Hon. Nathan Clifford—a very different man, if I am rightly informed. When his nomination was before the Senate, Mr. Hale opposed it, and said Mr. Clifford was not reckoned a first class lawyer in his own district—which comprises the greater part of New England; nor in his own State—the State of Maine; nor in his own county; nor even in his own town! Then, after Mr. Hale had reduced this vulgar fraction of law to his lowest terms, the Senate added it to the sum of the Supreme Court. He is strong enough for his function—to create new law for Slavery. His appointment must needs cause a judgment against him, but let us give him a fair trial. When the Court has given the expected decision in the Lemmon case, then this new article will be voted into the apostolic creed of the Democratic party, published by authority, and appointed to be read in caucuses and conventions. It may be “said or sung,” as follows:—“I believe in the Fugitive Bill; I believe in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; I believe in the Dred Scott Decision; I believe in the Lemmon Decision. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.”

II. The next measure is to conquer Mexico, Central America, and all the Northern Continent down to the Isthmus; to conquer Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, all the West India Islands,

and establish Slavery there. This conquest of the Islands might seem rather a difficult work — it might require some fighting ; but the late Hon. Senator Butler, of South Carolina, was very confident it would be done. You remember how he spoke of those Islands in a rambling speech that he once made which was truth-telling because drunken. You smile ; but if *in vino veritas* be good Latin, *à fortiori* is it good American to say, *there is more truth in whiskey which is stronger*. In one of his fits of “ loose expectoration,” that distinguished Senator, a Representative man, like Bully Brooks, instancial and typical of his State, spoke of “ our Southern Islands,” meaning Cuba, San-Domingo, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Thomas, and the rest. He called them *our* islands, not that they were so then, or because he had any personal knowledge that they ever would be ; but “ being in the Spirit ” (of Slavery,) and the Spirit (of Whiskey) being also in him — *imperium in imperio* — by this twofold inspiration (of Slavery from without and Whiskey from within,) and from this double consciousness (out of the abundance of the stomach the mouth also speaking,) he prophesied (this medium of two spirits,) not knowing what he said.

That is the second measure, — to re-annex the West Indies and the Continent.

III. The third measure is to restore the African slave trade. Now and then, the South puts forth a *feeler*, to try the weather ; the further South you go the more boldly are the feelers put out. South Carolina and Louisiana seem ready for this measure ; and of course the Supreme Court is ready. You must not be surprised if yet another article be added to the Democratic Creed, and we hear Mr. Cushing deacon off this new Litany of Despotism, with — “ I believe in the African Slave Trade.”

To carry all these measures, the Slave Power depends on the Federal Government. But it never pesters the Government with petitions on paper ; it sends its petitions in *Boots*. They are not referred to Committees in House or Senate ; the

Petitions in Boots are themselves the Committee of House and Senate. Gentlemen, the Slave Power has got the Federal Government, especially the Supreme Court—a Constant Power.

It relies also on the Democratic party North for its aid in this destruction of Democracy. Gentlemen, it has got that party—will it keep it? Heretofore the two have seemed united, not for better but for worse, “so long as they both do live.” Witness the arguments of Mr. Cushing, yesterday, in this hall, against the Personal Liberty Law; and he faithfully and consistently represents the Northern Democratic party as it was.

The Slave Power depends on the four great commercial cities of the North—Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Gentlemen, it has the support of these four cities, and will continue to have it for some time to come. If the two immediate and the three remote aggressive measures I have just mentioned were to be passed on by the voters of these four towns, I think they would vote as the Slave Power told them. They did so for the Fugitive Slave Bill, for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill;—they will vote for the Lecompton Bill, the Army Bill; and when their help is wanted for the *Americanization* of the rest of the continent, by filibustering; for the *Southernization* of the North, by the Lemmon decision; for the *Africanization* of America, by restoring the African slave trade, they will do as they are bid.

If these five measures were left to the voters of Boston alone, the result might be doubtful,—nay, I think it would be adverse to the South. But look at the matter a little more nicely. Divide the Boston voters into four classes:—the Rich—men worth \$100,000 or more; the Educated—men with such culture as pupils get at tolerable colleges; the Poor—the Irish, and all men worth but \$400 or less; the Middling class—the rest of the male citizens. If the question were submitted to the first three, I make no doubt the vote would be for the South, for the destruction of Democracy.

The educated and the poor would do as the rich commanded them — they would not “strike the hand that feeds them,” for they know how

“To crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,  
Where thrift may follow fawning.”

I speak of the general rule, and do honor to the exceptions. I hope you think me harsh in this judgment. Many of you, I see, are members of this House, and do not know exactly the city you are strangers in. I believe it the best city in the world; but it has some faults which warrant my conjectural fear. Two things have happened, Mr. President, since our last annual meeting, which show the proclivity of the controlling class in Boston to support slavery. The first took place on the seventeenth of June. One or two haberdashers and the hotel-keepers of Boston were anxious to celebrate the eighty-second anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. The State and the City united in that good work. There was a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, joined with a Committee of the City Council. Here is the Book “printed by authority,” giving an account of some of the proceedings. The Committee invited distinguished champions of Slavery to come and consecrate the statue of Warren. Here is the reply of Gov. Wise, of Virginia. It contains an admirable hint. He hopes *the Revolutionary times will return*. So do I.

Here are letters from the Hon. Mr. Hilliard, of Alabama, from ex-President Tyler, and from similar people, too numerous to mention in an anti-slavery speech. There is a bill to be paid by the Commonwealth by and by, and some of you, gentlemen, will have an opportunity to vote the money of Massachusetts to pay for the liquor which intoxicated some of the great champions of Slavery whom the Committee invited to do honor to Bunker Hill by their bodily presence, and to Boston by their subsequent carouse. There will be a bill amounting to \$1067.04 which I would advise the legisla-



tors to look at carefully, and see what the "*items*" are, and ascertain who consumed the "*items*." But let me return to the "Great Celebration," — almost equal in glory to the Battle itself.

The Committee invited the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill to partake of their festivities. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, they invited the Hon. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, the most insolent man in the American Senate, the most bitterly and vulgarly hostile to the Democratic institutions of the North, the man who had treated your own Senator with such insolence and abuse; Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, also should have been included! I shall not now speak of the men who outraged the decency of New England by asking such a man to such a spot on such a day, — they were types of a class of men whom they too faithfully serve. But on that occasion, "complimentary flunkeyism" swelled itself almost to bursting, that it might croak the praises of Mr. Mason and his coadjutors.

When the coward blows of Mr. Brooks — one of that holy alliance of bullies who rule Congress — had brought Charles Sumner to the ground, and he lay helpless between Life and Death, you know the people of Boston proposed to have a meeting in Faneuil Hall to express their indignation. A Committee, appointed at a previous meeting, had the matter in charge. They invited Hon. Mr. Winthrop to attend. "No," he "could not come." They asked Mr. Everett. "No," he too was "unable." It was reported at the time, and I thought on good authority, that when the Committee asked Hon. Mr. Choate, he asked "if blows on the head with a gutta percha stick would hurt a man much?" These three were ex-Senators. They all refused to attend the meeting and join in any expression of feeling against the outrage upon Mr. Sumner. Gentlemen, I respect sincerity, and I was glad that they were not hypocrites on that occasion. Twice the Committee waited on the first two gentlemen, offering the invitation, which was twice refused. But Mr. Win-

throp and Mr. Everett were both at Charlestown, to pay that feudal homage to Mr. Fugitive-Slave-Bill Mason, which Northern vassals owe the Slave Power. With their "flunkeyism," they tainted still worse the air of that town which has a proverbial repute and name.

Then was fulfilled that celebrated threat of Senator Toombs, of Georgia. On the eighty-second anniversary of New England's first great battle, at the foot of Bunker Hill Monument, the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the most offensive of all his tribe, called over the roll of his slaves; and men, their names unknown to fame, their personalities too indistinct for sight, at least for memory, with the City Government of Boston, the authorities of Harvard College, two ex-Senators, one ex-Governor, the Governor of Massachusetts, (spite of the "certainty of a mathematical demonstration," now also an ex,) answered to their names!

That was not all. The next day, at the public cost, in a steamboat chartered expressly for the purpose, the City Government took Mr. Mason about the harbor, showing to him the handsome spectacle of nature, the green islands, then so fair; and you saw, a hideous sight, the magistrates of this town doing homage to one of the foulest of her enemies, who had purposely incited a kindred spirit to deal such blows on the honored head of a noble Senator of this State!

Nor was that all. The next night, one of the Professors of Harvard College, both a learned and most genial man, but at that time specially representing the servility of his institution, better even than his accomplishments generally represent its Greek scholarship, invited the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill to an entertainment at his house.

So the magistrates of Boston, the authorities of Harvard College, the "respectabilities of the neighborhood," the Committee of the Legislature, the Governor of the Commonwealth, and its ex-Senators said in their acts, and their words too, "Thus shall be done unto the man whom the Slave Power delighteth to honor."

Here is the other act. Mr. Alger, a young Unitarian minister of this town, had been invited to deliver the annual Fourth of July Address before the city authorities ; and he, good honest man, in the simplicity of his heart, like Horace Mann and Charles Sumner long before, thought that one day in the year was consecrate to Independence, and an orator might be pardoned if, on Independence Day, he said a word in behalf of the self-evident truths of the old Declaration, and spoke of the natural and unalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Mr. Alger's grandfather fought in the battle of Bunker Hill, and it was not surprising that the "Spirit of '75," speaking through such a "Medium," should be a little indignant at the *spirit of '57* ! He spoke as he ought. The City Government refused to print his speech — which, however, printed itself. The act was consistent. They who had crouched to Senator Mason, and answered at the roll-call of his slaves, how could they publish a manly speech rebuking their "complimentary flunk-eyism !"

These two acts may make you doubt what would be the fate of the Slave Power's measures if left to Boston alone ; but they make me sure what it would be if left to the three classes I have just now named.

But will these measures succeed, even with such help ? If I had stood in this spot on the 29th of January, 1850, and foretold as prophecy what is history to-day, would you have believed me, Mr. President ? Ladies and Gentlemen, *you* could not credit it ; that Mason's Bill, proposed the week before, would become a law ; that Boston would ever be the haunt of man-stealers, her Court-House a Barracoon, Faneuil Hall crammed with soldiers hired to steal a negro boy ; that her Judge of Probate would forego the benevolence of his nature, or at least of his office, and become a kidnapper, and even a pretended anti-slavery Governor keep him in office still ! No, you could not believe that Wendell Phillips would ever be brought to trial for a "misdemeanor," because,

in the Cradle of Liberty, he declared it wrong for a Judge of Probate to turn kidnapper! No, you would not hear the prediction, that the Missouri Compromise would be repealed, the Kansas-Nebraska act be passed, and the military arm of the United States, lengthened out with Border Ruffians, would be stretched forth to force Slavery into Kansas with the edge of the sword. You would have said "The Dred Scott Decision is impossible; the Supreme Court cannot declare that no colored man is a citizen of the United States, — that the Constitution itself puts Slavery into every Territory, spite of local legislation, spite of Congress itself, spite of the People's will! Should they attempt so foul a wrong, the next Convention of Northern Democrats would rend the Court asunder! Caleb Cushing would war against it!" What have we seen abroad; what do some of you hear in this Hall, day out, day in! On the 29th of January, 1858, is it more unlikely that the Federal Government will decree these three new measures, — to establish Slavery in all the North, to conquer and enslave the Southern part of the continent, to restore the slave trade? The past is explanation of the present, as the present also of the past.

There are two things you may depend on: the impudent boldness of your Southern masters; the thorough corruption of their Northern slaves. These two are "sure as Death and Rates."

But opposition is made against Slavery, — some of it is quite remarkable. I begin with mentioning what comes from quarters which seemed least promising.

1. A Northern Democrat enters on the stage, — an unwonted appearance. But it is no "infant phenomenon," no stripling, "who never appeared on any stage before," making his first essay by venturing on an anti-slavery part. It is an old stock actor — the Little Giant of many a tragedy. Mr. Douglass has broken with the Administration; the author of the Kansas-Nebraska act is now undoing his own work; the

inventor of "Squatter Sovereignty" (or, if Cass be the inventor, Douglass has the patent) turns round and *strikes the hand that fed him* with honors and applause. He has great personal power of work, of endurance, immense ability to talk; all the arts of sophistry are at his command; adroit, cunning, far-sighted, for an American politician — no man, I think, better understands the strategy of politics, and no man has been more immoral and shameless in its use. He has long been the leader of the Northern Democracy, and knows its instincts and its ideas; his hand is familiar with the strings which move the puppets of the party. Amongst men not clerical, I have heard but one speaker lie with such exquisite adroitness, and make the worse appear the better reason. He is a Senator, still holding his place on important Committees; he is rich, in the prime of life, ambitious of power; he has abandoned drunkenness, and his native strength returns to his stout frame once more. Let us not disguise it, — no mere politician in America can do the Slave Power such harm.

But I have no more confidence in Mr. Douglass now than in 1854. The Nature of the man has not changed, nor can it change; even his Will is still the same. No man has done us such harm. You know his public measures, his public speeches — the newspapers report all that; but his frauds, his insolent demeanor, his brow-beating and violence towards the Republican Senators, you do not know — only the actual spectators can understand such things. Do you remember that, after Mr. Sumner had made his last great speech, Mr. Douglass said — "Does the Senator want us to kick him?" You have not forgot that when Brooks made his attack upon Sumner, Douglass also was there, and did not interfere to prevent a continuance of the blows. He also was a part of that outrage. The man has not changed. If he were President, he would do as Buchanan does, only more so. If he were sure of his Senatorial office for six years to come, I think we should hear no words from him in behalf of Kansas.

But his term expires in March, next year. He knows he cannot be re-elected, unless he changes his course. So he alters his Measures, and provisionally favors freedom ; not his Principles, which are the loaves and fishes of power. I am sorry to hear Republicans express their confidence in him, and give him praise which leaves nothing to add to such men as Hale, Seward, and Chase. I know it is said "any stone is good enough to throw at a dog ;" but this is a stone that will *scale* in its flight, veer off, and finally hit what you mean not to hurt but to defend. Yet it is unexpected to find any individuality of conduct or opinion in the party. It is pleasant to see what a train of followers he has already, and to think that Democracy is not quite dead among "Democrats." He is fighting against our foes — that is an accident ; he is not fighting for us, but only for Stephen A. Douglass, and if he wins that battle, he cares not who his allies are, nor who his foes.

2. The next help comes from a SLAVE STATE. Here is the valuable speech of Hon. F. P. Blair, from Missouri. "The civilized world," says he, "is at war with the propagation of slavery, whether by fraud or by the sword ; and those who look to gain political ascendancy on this continent by bringing the weight of this system, like an enormous yoke, not to subject the slaves only, but their fellow-citizens and kindred of the same blood, *have made false auguries of the signs of the times.*"

Significant words — doubly important when coming from a slave State. Do not think he is alone. He has a constituency behind him not of doughfaces. Here is the speech of Mr. James B. Gardenhire, lately made in the House of Representatives at Jefferson City, Missouri. It is of the same tenor as Mr. Blair's, and advocates the abolition of slavery in Missouri itself.

3. Here is something from REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. Not to mention others from New England, or elsewhere, here is a speech from Hon. Eli Thayer, ironical

sometimes, I take it, but plain and direct in substance. He would have the free States send settlers to Northernize the South—already he has a colony in Virginia—and New-Englandize Central America! “The Yankee,” says Mr. Thayer, “has never become a slaveholder, unless he has been forced to it by the social relations of the slave State where he lived; and the Yankee who has become a slaveholder has every day of his life thereafter felt in his very bones the bad economy of the system.” “Why, sir, he can buy a negro power in a steam-engine for ten dollars, and he can clothe and feed that power for one year for five dollars; and are we the men to give \$1000 for an African slave, and \$150 a year to feed and clothe him?”

This is an anti-slavery argument which traders can understand. Mr. Thayer is not so much a talker as an organizer; he puts his thoughts into works. You know how much Kansas owes him for the organization he has set on foot. One day will he not also revolutionize Virginia? There is a to-morrow after to-day.

Here is a speech from Hon. John P. Hale. I think it is the ablest he ever made,—the first any one has made, I think, since the discussion caused by the assault on Mr. Sumner. It relates to Kansas and the Dred Scott Decision. Hear what he says of the latter:—

“If the opinion of the Supreme Court be true, it makes the immortal authors of the Declaration of Independence liars before God and hypocrites before the world; for they lay down their sentiments broad, full, and explicit, and then they say that they appeal to the Supreme Ruler of the universe for the rectitude of their intentions; but, if you believe the Supreme Court, they were merely quibbling on words. They went into the courts of the Most High, and pledged fidelity to their principles as the price they would pay for success, and now it is attempted to cheat them out of the poor boon of integrity; and it is said that they did not mean so; and that when they said *all men*, they meant *all white men*; and when they said that the contest they waged

was for the *rights of mankind*, the Supreme Court of the United States would have you believe that they mean it was to *establish Slavery*. Against that I protest, here, now, and everywhere ; and I tell the Supreme Court that these things are so impregnably fixed in the hearts of the people, on the page of history, in the recollections and traditions of men, that it will require mightier efforts than they have made or can make to overturn or to shake these settled convictions of the popular understanding and of the popular heart.

“Sir, you are now proposing to carry out this Dred Scott decision by forcing upon the people of Kansas a Constitution against which they have remonstrated, and to which there can be no shadow of doubt a very large portion of them are opposed. Will it succeed? I do not know ; it is not for me to say ; but I will say this : if you force that—if you persevere in that attempt—I think, I hope, the men of Kansas will fight. I hope they will resist to blood and to death the attempt to force them to a submission against which their fathers contended, and to which they never would have submitted. Let me tell you, sir, I stand not here to use the language of intimidation or of menace ; but you kindle the fires of civil war in that country by an attempt to force that Constitution on the necks of an unwilling people ; and you will light a fire that all Democracy cannot quench—aye, sir, there will come up many another Peter the Hermit, that will go through the length and the breadth of this land, telling the story of your wrongs and your outrages ; and they will stir the public heart ; they will raise a feeling in this country such as has never yet been raised ; and the men of this country will go forth, as they did of olden time, in another crusade ; but it will not be a crusade to redeem the dead sepulchre where the body of the Crucified had lain from the profanation of the infidel, but to redeem this fair land, which God has given to be the abode of freemen, from the desecration of a despotism sought to be imposed upon them in the name of ‘perfect freedom’ and ‘popular sovereignty.’”

This is a little different from the speeches made in Congress last winter. There is nothing apologetic and deprecatory this time. Mr. Seward said, long ago, “The time for compromises has passed by.”

Mr. Sumner’s chair is vacant still, — and yet it speaks with



more power than any Senator can bring to defend Slavery with. In the long line of men Massachusetts has sent to do service in the Halls of Congress, there has been none nobler than Charles Sumner, none more faithful. I know how dangerous it is to praise a living man, especially a politician ; to-morrow may undo the work of half a century. But here I feel safe ; for of all the men I have known in political life, he is the only one who has thereby grown stronger in the noblest qualities of a man. Already his integrity has been tried in the severest ordeal ; I think hereafter it will stand any test. Massachusetts has had three great Adamses — Samuel, John, John Quincy. In their graves, they are to her what “the three Tells” are to Switzerland. Here is a man equally noble, perhaps with a nicer culture than any of them. He has now the same firmness, the same integrity — faithfulness to delegated trust, allegiance to the Higher Law of Right. His empty chair is eloquent.

4. Then there are REPUBLICANS OUT OF CONGRESS, in official station, who are at work. All the New England States, New York, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, have Governors and Legislatures, I think, hostile to slavery — after the “Republican” way. The election of Mr. Banks was a triumph in Massachusetts. In fifty years past, no Northern State has sent a man to the House of Representatives, who in twenty-five years acquired as great influence there as Mr. Banks in four. He has many qualities which fit him for eminence in American politics — if he only be faithful to the Right. I hear loud condemnation of him from anti-slavery men, because, say they, “he will do wrong by and by.” Our sentence will be in season if it comes *after* the crime ; and the actual offences of Republican politicians are so numerous that I will not condemn conjectural felonies before they are committed. I hear it said he will not remove Judge Loring. Wait and see. This I know, that a good deal within twelve months, he said he wished him removed, by the address of the Legislature ; and *if he* (Banks) *were*

*Governor, he (Banks) would do it!* If he try to ride a Compromise, he may depend on it he will not ride far, however long! "The day of Compromise is past." I remember the speech he made in Wall Street, New York; also the one at Salem. I have no defence to make for them, no excuse to offer for him. I felt astonished and ashamed. But to exchange his predecessor for him seemed a triumph of freedom in 1857; I hope it will prove so in years to come.

The Republican party has done considerable service, but it does not behave very well. It is cowardly; a little deceitful; "making *I dare not wait upon I would.*" Colored waiters at public festivals say, "the Democrats treat us better than the Republicans." Events have clearly shown that the party did not deserve to gain the federal power in 1856; that it would have been ruinous to the party could they then have taken the great offices, and disastrous to the cause of freedom, which they would compromise. Yet, as it is the best political party we have, I would not be over-nice in criticising it. I like not to pick holes in the thin spots of the only political coat we have in this stormy weather. I know the difficulties of the party, and have pity for its offenders — none for its mere hunters after place.

I have spoken of the services of these classes of political men. There is one trouble which disturbs all four. They are liable to a certain disease of a peculiar nature. I have a good copy of Galen, but he does not mention it; the last edition of Hippocrates, but neither he nor his commentator, though both well-lettered men, makes any reference thereto. Hence I suppose it is a new disease, which, though not exactly a Doctor of Medicine, perhaps I am the first to describe. So I will call it the PRESIDENTIAL FEVER; or, in Latin, *Typhus infandus Americanus*.\* I will try to describe the specific variety which is endemic in the Northern States,

\* It may be the same *Herod* is said to have died of. From Sallust's description, it would seem that *Cataline* had a slight touch of it. Bell. Cat., ch. I.

the only place where I have studied the disease. I may omit some symptoms of the case, which other observers will supply. At first, the patient is filled with a vague longing after things too high for him. He gazes at them with a fixed stare; the pupils expand. But he cannot see distinctly; crooked ways seem straight; the shortest curve he thinks is a *right* angle; dirty things look clean, and he lays hold of them without perceiving their condition. Some things he sees double — especially the number of his friends; others with a semi-vision, and it is always the lower half he sees. All the time he hears a confused noise, like that of men declaring votes, State after State. This noise obscures all other sounds, so that he cannot hear the still, small voice which yet moves the world of men. He can bear no “agitation;” the word “Slavery” disturbs him much; he fears discussion thereof as a hydrophobic dreads water. Yet he is fond of the “rich brogue” of the foreign population. His sense of smell is so morbid, that an honest man is unbearably offensive. His tongue is foul, but he has an irresistible propensity to lick the hands of those he thinks will give him what he seeks. His organ of Locality is crazed and erratic in its action; the thermometer may stand at 20 below zero, — even lower, if long enough, — the Mississippi may be frozen over clear down to Natchez, Hellgate be impassable for ice, and the wind of Labrador blow for months across the continent to the Gulf of Mexico, — still he can’t believe there is any North! Combativeness is irregularly active; he fights his best friends and clings to his worst enemies. Destructiveness is intense; he would abolish the negroes, enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill, and hang the Abolitionists. Benevolence is wholly inert. Casuality has become idiotic; he looks into the clockwork of the State, and everywhere finds “a little nigger has got into the machinery,” which he would set right by “crushing out” the intruder. Ideality fills him with the foolishness of dreams. The organ of Self-Esteem swells to a monstrous size — like a huge wen on the top of the head, “a sight to

behold." He talks about himself excessively, *ad nauseam*; and "makes a noise town-meeting days," and is always "up" in the Legislature. Vanity is immense; he would be before the people continually; no place is too small, if only public;\* he lives in the eye of the people, greedy of praise. Hope is in a state of delirious excitement; no failure disconcerts him, no fall abates desire to rise. Veracity is in a comatose state; "he will lie like Governor ——." Conscientiousness has "caved in," and in its place there is "a hole in his head." He knows no higher law above his own ambition, for which all means seem just. He often speaks of "the Father of his Country," but never tells his noblest deeds. His Reverence is delirious in its action; he worships every graven or molten image that faces South, and lies prostrate before the great ugly idol of Slavery, rending his garments, and cries, "Baal help us! Baal help us!" Disease incurable; yields to no medicine; not hellebore enough in all Anticyra to affect the case.

I need not speak of the old Anti-Slavery Society. It is not necessary I should criticise their action—I have done that often enough before. If we deserve any praise, let others give it, or give it not, as suits them best.

There has been a great change in the PEOPLE of the North—else, Mr. President, we were not here to-night. You remember the Legislatures of 1850, 1851, 1852,—what if you had asked them for this Hall!. In 1851, even Faneuil Hall could not be had for a Convention of fifteen hundred as respectable and intelligent men as ever assembled in the

\* "Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas,  
Et de mensura jus dicere, vasa minora  
Frangere, pannosus vacuis Ædilis Ulubris;  
—— qui nimios optabat honores."

The Latin is only for *Doctors*, who know the local applications of the geography.

United States, with Horace Mann at their head. We are here to-night by the will of the People of Massachusetts. For many years we have come up before the Legislature of this State ; it has always heard us patiently, and I think at length has always done what we asked. Former Legislatures have done all in *their* power to remove the only Massachusetts Judge of Probate that ever kidnapped a man. I make no doubt this Legislature will as faithfully represent the Conscience of the State.

I say, there has been a great change in the People. Compare the old *Daily Advertiser* with the new, which I think one of the humanest as well as ablest newspapers in New England.

I recall the fate of the Northern men who voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. There were thirteen Northern Senators who did so. The official term has expired for ten of them. Nine of the ten lost their election — veteran old Mr. Cass at their head ; the Camden and Amboy Railroad sent back Mr. Thompson to represent their rolling-stock. Stuart of Michigan, Jones of Iowa, and Douglass of Illinois, abide their time.

Forty-two Northern Representatives were equally false to Democracy. Thirty-nine of them have gone to their own place, only three returned to their seats: J. Glancey Jones, and T. B. Florence, of Pennsylvania, and W. H. English, of Indiana, alone remain.

If the South is more confident of victory than ever, the North is also more determined to conquer. The late elections show this ; that of Mr. Banks is a very significant sign of the times. The "REBELLION" of Mr. Douglass, so his old masters call it, is popular at the North. He could be elected to the Senate to-morrow by a vote of the people of Illinois. I do not say I would vote for him ; that State will. All the West is on his side. See how many tender-footed Democrats there are who cannot walk over a majority of legal voters in Kansas ten thousand strong, and force Slavery on

that State, even at the command of the old master. Soon there will be *Conscience Democrats*, as once "*Conscience Whigs*." The Administration Party may carry their measures; it will be as of old, "the counsel of the froward is carried headlong." In 1860, the Northern Democratic Party will be where the Whig Party was in 1856. There will be a pack of men about the federal offices in all the great towns, united by common desire for public plunder; but the Party will be as dead as Benedict Arnold. If Mr. Cushing will "crush out" all individualism from the Democracy he will leave no life there!

Such is the ASPECT of Slavery now. It is clear what Duty the North has to do. She must choose either Freedom of the Black man, with an Industrial Democracy gradually spreading over all the continent, diffusing everywhere the civilization of New England; or else the Slavery of the Black man, with a Military Despotism certainly overspreading the land and crushing down the mass of men, white and black, into Asiatic subjection. The choice is between these two extremes.

There are 18,000,000 in the North, all free. The power of numbers, wealth, industry, education, ideas, institutions, all is on our side. So are the sympathies of the civilized world, the hopes and the primal instincts of mankind; "the stars in their courses fight against Sisera." The Federal Government is against us — we might have had it on our side if we would.

The last Presidential election showed who in the North were the allies of the South. They dwell mainly in the four great cities, and in that debatable land which borders on the slave States, a strip of territory 200 miles wide, reaching from New York harbor to the Mississippi. I trust the Anti-Slavery Society will send out its missionaries to arouse and instruct the people in that border land. There is a practical work to be done — to be attempted at once.

Slavery is a moral wrong and an economical blunder; but it is also a great political institution. It cannot be put down by

political economy, nor by ethical preaching; men have not only pecuniary interests and moral feelings but also political passions. Slavery must be put down politically, or else militarily. If not peacefully ended soon, it must be ended wrathfully by the sword. The negro won't bear Slavery forever; if he would, the white man won't.

If the Republican party behave wisely, there will never be another inch of slave soil added to the national domain, nor another slave State admitted to the Union: but Slavery will be driven out of all the territories. Look at this fact. There are now fifteen slave States, sixteen free. Minnesota and Kansas will soon be admitted, Washington and Oregon ere long — four new free States. Missouri may abolish Slavery within four years. Then, in 1864, we shall stand twenty-one free States to fourteen slave States. Nay, perhaps Utah will repudiate both forms of polygamy, the voluntary and the forcible, and be an ally in our defence. It is easy to conquer the Southern part of the continent; it is not easy to establish African slavery there, in the midst of a population made up of Africans or Indians ready to shelter the slave, and also much more dense than that in the Gulf States from Georgia or Florida to Texas.

If the North is wise and just, we shall choose an Anti-Slavery President in 1860, and on March 4th, 1861, incorporate the Principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution's preamble into the Federal Government itself. And on the Fourth of July, 1876, there will not be a slave within all the wide borders of the United States! For that service, we do not want a man like Col. Fremont, who has had no political experience; we want no Johnny Raw for the most difficult post in the nation. It must not be a man broken down with the Presidential fever.

But much is to be done before that result is possible. The whole policy of the Republican party must be changed. We must attack Slavery — Slavery in the Territories, Slavery in the District, and above all, Slavery *in the slave States*. Would

you remove the *shadow of a tree*? Then down with the tree itself! There is no other way. To get rid of the accidents of a thing, you make way with its substance. Does not the Constitution guarantee a Republican form of Government to every State? South Carolina has a Republican form of Government, has she? We must be aggressive, and kill the trunk, not maim the branches. When you attempt that, depend upon it the South will know you are in earnest. The Supreme Court is our worst enemy. I should attack it carefully by regular siege. Conquer and re-construct it.

If I were Republican Governor of Massachusetts, or a Senator of the State, I should make it a part of my duty to attend every Anti-Slavery Convention and to speak there. Such men go to Cattle Shows, and Mechanics' Fairs, and meetings of Bible Societies, to show that they are at least officially interested in farming, manufacturing, and religion. So would I go to the other place, to show that I really took the deepest, heartiest interest in the great principles of Democracy, and wished to see justice done to the humblest of human kind.

The *Daily Advertiser* gives us good counsel. In the editorial of the 26th, I find these words: "The enemies of Slavery and its extension have hitherto occupied too exclusively a defensive attitude; its friends, by venturing on bold courses of aggression, have continually been gaining ground. If they did not carry their whole point, they always gained something by compromise. It is right to learn from one's enemy, and it will be fortunate if our friends in Congress have really learned the valuable lesson of refusing to be kept on the defensive."

I know how anxious men are for office. I take it there are 20,000 candidates for the Presidency now living. I wish they were enumerated in the census — they might come after the overseers of slaves. Certainly no man is too small for the place. The experience of Europe shows that little men may be born to high office; America proves that they can be



*chosen* — and Democratic election is as good as Royal foreordination. But no man is likely to gain that high office by compromise. Webster tried it, and failed; Clay also failed. If Seward, Chase, or Banks attempt the same thing, they also will come dishonored to the ground. It is always hard to ride two horses. What if, as now, both be swift, and North runs one way, and South the other? Anti-Slavery is a moveable stone — he that falls on it will be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder!

I know men say, "If you attack Slavery, the South will dissolve the Union." *She* dissolve the Union? She does not dare. Without commerce, manufactures, schools, with no industry but slavery, more than one third of her population bondmen, their interest antagonistic to hers,—let her try if she will. Her threat—I'll tell you what it is like. "Mamma," said a spoiled boy to a mother of ten other and older children, "Mamma, I want a piece of pickled elephant." "No, my dear, he can't have it. Johnny must be a good boy." "No, I won't be a good boy. I don't want to be good. I want a piece of pickled elephant." "But aint he mother's *youngest* boy? When we have some pickled elephant, he shall have the biggest picce!" "Ma'am, I don't want a *picce!* I want a *whole pickled elephant!* I want him *now!* If you don't let me have him now, I'll run right off and catch the measles. I know a boy that's got 'em first rate."



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